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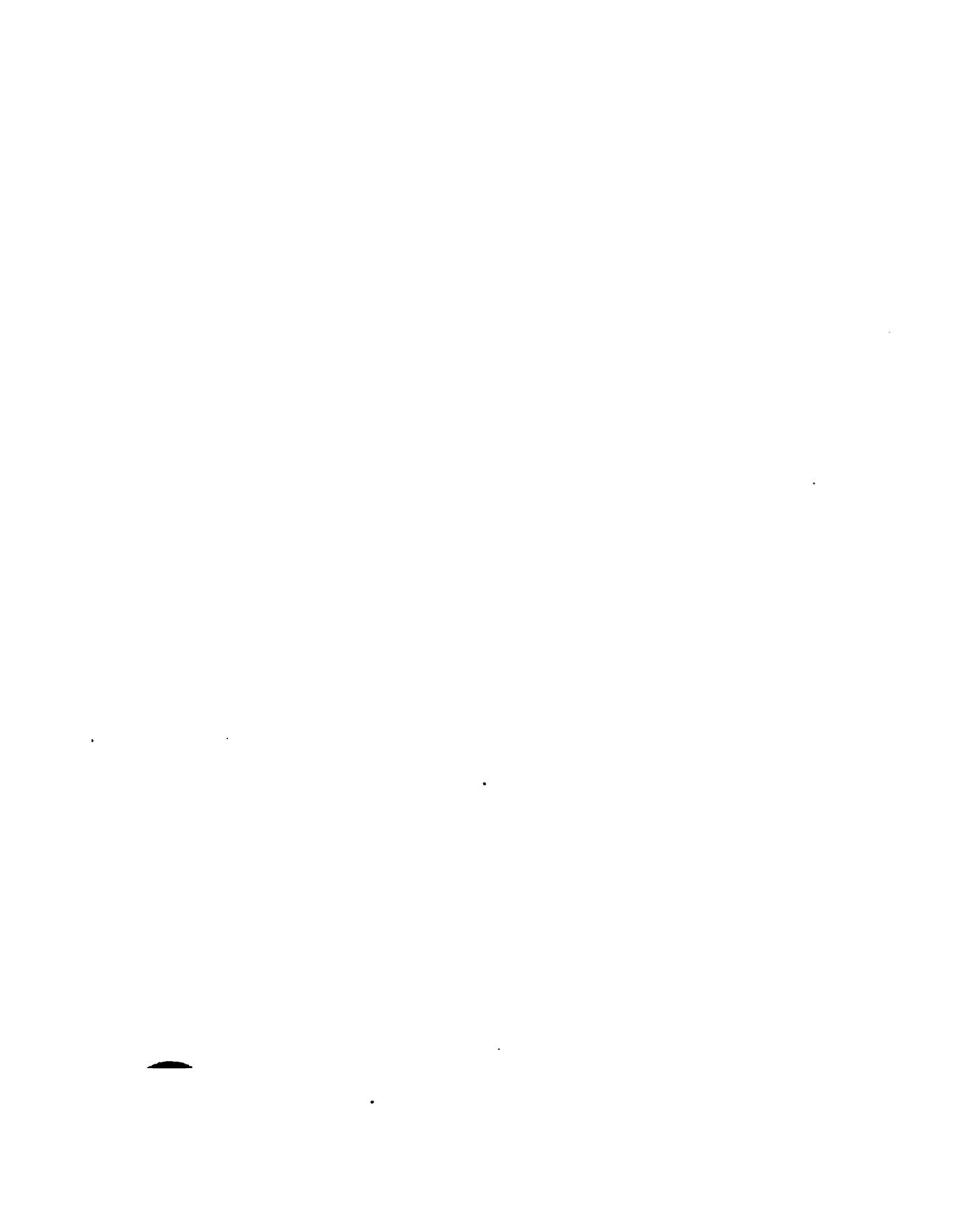
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A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE
KYNGE.





The Earliest known Printed English Ballad.

A
BALLADE
OF THE
SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.

WRITTEN BY
JOHN SKELTON,
POET LAUREATE TO KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

REPRODUCED IN FACSIMILE WITH AN HISTORICAL
AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION
BY
JOHN ASHTON.

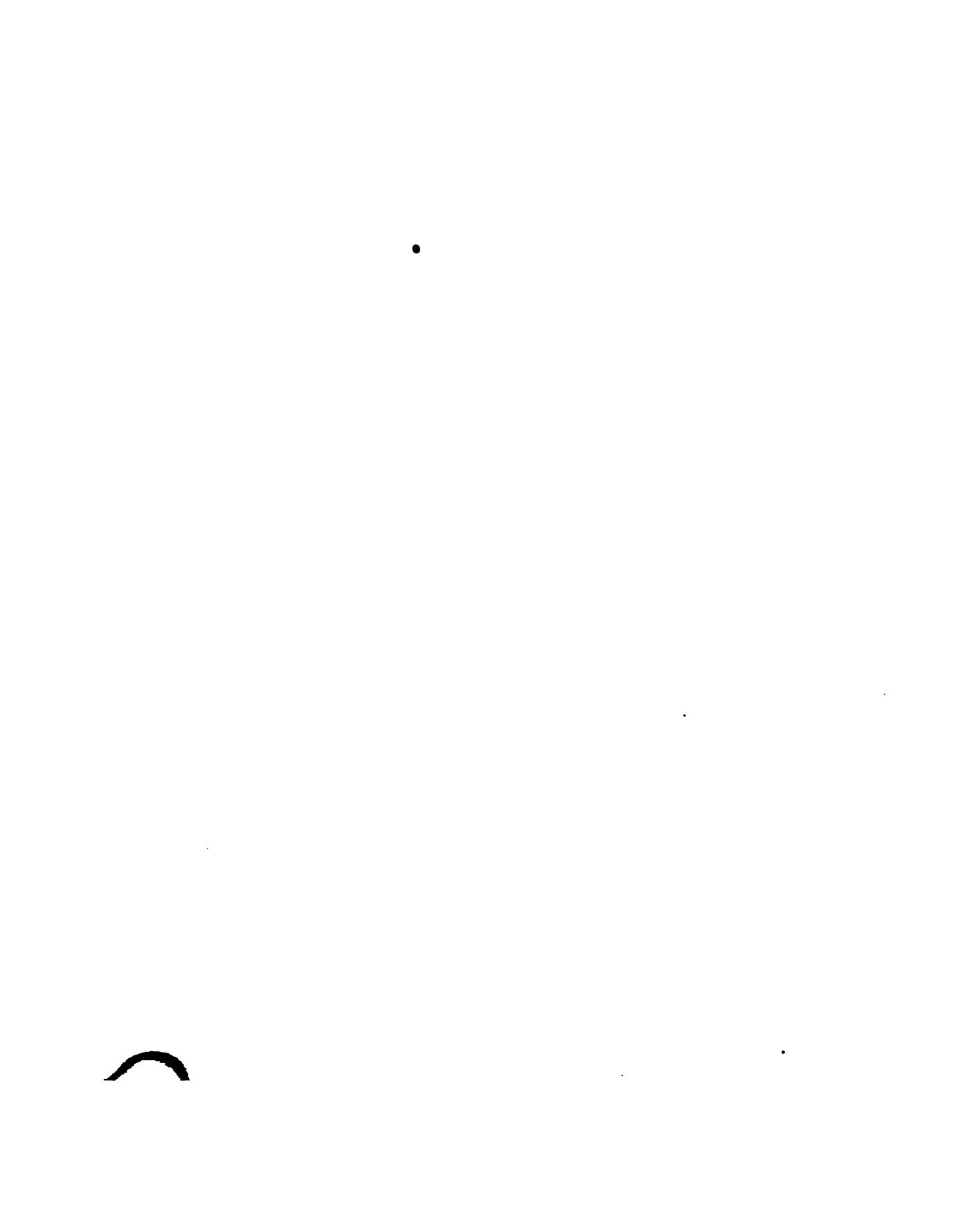
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A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF BALLADS.



F all varieties of poetry, the **BALLAD**, in the form which it affects among us, in distinction to other countries, is, perhaps, one of the most attractive. Although deriving its appellation from a word signifying a *dance* in Italy and France, where the ballad was a metrical narrative, or domestic epic, generally short, or at least not very long, as to its amount, and used as an accompaniment to a dance, the English ballad by no means demanded the dance for its accompaniment, and only signified a fairly short narrative poem in a rhyming metre of a lively, tripping, and popular style, which could be sung or chanted, and as such, was easily distinguished from the true

poem or lay, which was composed in an artificial and more serious verse, and was only intended for recitation. It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to trace the origin of the present form of the ballad in England. There is great probability that it is contemporary with the times when the alliterative, or initial-rhyming poems of the Anglo-Saxon and Early English poets were gradually giving way to the end-rhyming poetry which Chaucer and his school did so much to dignify.

Of our indigenous ballads, many so-called collections have been compiled. A mere list of the titles would be tedious and of little profit here. Perhaps the oldest known example is that of "King Horn," derived from an older and unfound ballad, yet certainly written in the form in which it is now extant, as early as the thirteenth century. Another celebrated and early ballad, "Gamelyn," is of the fourteenth century. After this period the ballad, in the elastic forms to which it lends itself both as to intrinsic narrative character, and extrinsic metrical adaptation, provided only the quality of being capable of being sung be preserved, springs rapidly into vogue among the copyists, and examples of it abound. In fact, for a season, the ballad occupied a dignified position among less facile forms of poetry. It was a form favoured by the best poets, and admired by the most appreciative listeners. But, after a time, as the progress of

education and the advance of literary taste directed the attention of the better classes to other channels of composition, so the ballad came to be neglected and despised, until at length, particularly in the seventeenth century, it degenerated into a vehicle for ribaldry, obscenity, and scurrility, printed in the simplest and commonest manner, carried about the country by pedlars who pandered to the depraved tastes of their unlettered customers, and, with few exceptions, worthless in every point of its former excellence. Curiously enough an exception must be made with regard to the Scottish ballads, many of which, particularly those relating to martial deeds, or military prowess, are of a far superior character to those of England, which are found contemporary with them. The simpler, chaster, and more martial spirit of the Caledonians, no doubt contributed to this result, and in turn was influenced by it.

Whether the curious “Ballade,” which is the subject of the present treatise, should take rank as the earliest known printed ballad in England—or only be entitled to secondary honours—mainly depends on what can be termed a ballad—where a song ends, and a poem commences. It has, however, but one rival, “The Nut-browne Mayd,” to which the title of a ballad can be hardly assigned in the same sense of perfectness, and self-completeness that this is.¹ This poem may

¹ It should be borne in mind that Mr. G. Barnett Smith com-

be familiar to many readers, but few know its pedigree, and title to rank as the earliest known printed ballad.

Early in the sixteenth century a book was published at Antwerp, without date or author's name, and this, for want of a better name, has been called "Arnold's Chronicle," or "The Customes of London." Bale, Pits, Stowe, and Holinshed, ascribe this work to Arnold (according to Stowe, "a citizen of London"), "who being inflamed with the fervente love of good learninge, travailed very studiously therin, and princi-

municated the text of this ballad to the "Athenæum," No. 2790, April 16, 1881, p. 525, with descriptive notes relating to the principal events in the progress of its discovery. This was followed in the next number, p. 561, by a paragraph containing an extract from a letter by Professor Skeat to the editor, in which he writes: "I do not quite know why it is called the 'oldest English printed ballad.' The ballad of 'The Nut-brown Maid,' printed at length in my 'Specimens of English Literature,' is quite a famous one; every one should know of it who cares for English Literature. And it was printed in 1502." The same paragraph points out that the accuracy of Mr. Barnett Smith's transcript is impugned. To this Mr. Smith, in the "Athenæum," No. 2792, April 30, pp. 592, 593, replied that his variations consist "in nearly every instance in the substitution of capital letters where they seem to be required, and in the uniform spelling of a word or two where the original was defective." In this reply, also, Mr. Smith admits having for the moment forgotten the claims of "The Nut-brown Maid" for a date of 1502, and he adds, "But after all it is a secondary matter whether 'The Nut-brown Maid' preceded by a few years the ballad of 'The Scottish King,' or whether the latter was the earlier in the order of publication. The one paramount fact is that here—as is generally believed—is a per-

pally in observing matters worthy to be remembred of the posteritye ; he noted the Charters, liberties, lawes, constitucions and Customes of the Citie of London. He lived in the year 1519." Whether he, or any one else wrote the book, does not much matter ; it is a book entirely on mercantile subjects, with the remarkable exception of the unexpected, and uncalled-for, interpolation of the anonymous poem which has received the name of the " Nut-brown Mayd." The page in " Arnold's Chronicle," which precedes this poem, consists of " The composicion betwene the marchautis of england and y^e towne of

feftly new ballad, which muſt poſſeſſ a ſtrong and genuine intereſt for men of letters and antiquaries." Mr. Adin Williams, another correspondent to the ſame periodical, in the ſame column, challenges Professor Skeat's ſtatement that the date of 1502 is to be affiſed to " The Nut-brown Maid," and inclines to 1521 as a nearer date of publication, although the ballad was written about the earlier date mentioned. He ſays in continuation, " Mr. Barnett Smith miſt call hiſ the oleſt printed ballad, with title-page and date, iſſued as a book, and not as a portion of a book, even if Arnold's ' Chronicle ' is ſaid to have been printed before 1521. But what of the ' Geste of Robin Hood,' Edinburgh, 1508 ? " Professor Skeat, however, in a ſubsequent communication (No. 2793, May 7, p. 623) completely demolishes this aſſertion by ſhowing that there are two old editions of Arnold's " Chronicle," one printed in 1502, and the other in 1521, and ſuggeſts the date of the writing of " The Nut-brown Maid " as " about 1500, but that is the very lateſt date that can be reaſonably accepted." To this Mr. A. Williams acquiesces in the following No. 2974. May 14, p. 654.

andwarp, for the costis of ther marchaundicis brought to the said towne and leauing thens." Immediately before the poem is "Brokers to pay for a cloth under xl.s. the broker shal haue ij.g7.

Item for a cloth aboue xl.s. the broker hath iiiij.g7.
Item C. ellis cotton cloth payth lyke a clothe iiiij.g7. &c"

and immediately after it the book continues the even, business-like tenour of its way, and dilates upon "The rekenyng to bey waris in flaundres." The date of 1502 or 1503 has been ascribed to the "Chronicle", solely for the reason that the last sheriffs in the compiler's list, in the first edition, are Henry Keble and Nicolas Nynes, in the 18th year of King Henry VIII., viz., 1502. This date may or may not be rightly ascribed, and need only be questioned if the title of the poem of the "Nut-brown Maid" to be considered a ballad stands good.

What is a ballad? or rather what *was* a ballad? for we all know its present meaning. Chaucer and others used the term "balade" for a song written in a particular rhythm, but that definition passed away, and it came certainly to mean a popular song on some warlike feat, or adventure, love or intrigue, of more or less extent, but still short enough to be sung, and, as I take it, to be sung by one person only, there being no antiphonal ballads properly so called. But the whole of the "Nut-brown Maid" from the

twenty-second line (out of 180) is a metrical dialogue between the knight and the maid, and is, moreover, intended to be so :—

- Line 13. “Than betwene vs, lete vs discusse, what was all the maner
14. Be twene them too, we wyl also, telle all they peyne
in fere
15. That shē was in, *now I begynne, soe that ye me answere.*”

This removes it at once out of the category of a *ballad*. That it has hitherto been thus described is of no importance, and, until this “ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge” was found, it was scarcely worth while to remove the “Nut-brown Maid” from the post of honour. Professor Skeat and others have, nevertheless, accepted this as a ballad; and granting that the “Nut-brown Maid” thoroughly fulfils all the conditions of a ballad, I still claim the highest honours for the “Scottyshe Kynge,” on the ground that it is independently published, that it has a title and a colophon, and that it styles itself a ballad, thus leaving no doubt as to its character. It, therefore, stands at present as the earliest printed English ballad.





CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.



HE description of this poem in the British Museum Catalogue is as follows :—

“ James IV. King of Scotland. A ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge (commencing ‘ Kynge Jamy, Jomy your Joye is all go ; ’) on the battle of Floddon by John Skelton, B.L. Richard Fawkes. London, 1513. 4°. Note. 4 leaves without title page or pagination. 31 lines to the full page. Beneath the title is a woodcut representing two Knights; and beneath the woodcut are the first four lines of the letterpress. This ballad was included in ‘ a treatyse of the Scottes ’ published later among ‘ Certayne bokes cōpyled by Mayster Skelton ’ but with many variations. It is believed to be the first printed English Ballad.”

As far as is known this piece is unique, and its

A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE. 9

history is somewhat romantic. On opening the book is found the pen-and-ink note:—

“‘A ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge.’ This formed the inside of the wooden cover of an old folio volume belonging to Miss Chafyn Grove of Zeals House, Bath. The old book, with a great many more, had lain for years on the floor of a garret in a farm house at Whaddon, co. Dorset (now Miss Grove’s), and both farm house and library had come to her by family descent, from Mr. Bullen Reynes of co. Dorset.

“ J. E. Jackson,
“ Leigh Delamere,
“ Chippenham,
“ Hon. Canon of Bristol.
“ Nov. 9, 1878.”

This authentication is, however, somewhat meagre, and it is a pity that Canon Jackson did not enter more fully into the details of its discovery. It was found, as described, in the cover of the French romance of “Huon of Bordeaux,” printed at Paris by Michel le Noir in 1513, which was bound in oak after its arrival in England. Not the least remarkable circumstance connected with its finding, was that in the other side cover of the book, were two leaves of a very scarce tract on Floddon Field, “The trewe encountre or . . Batayle lately don betwene Englade and: Scotlande. In whiche batayle the . Scottyshe

Kynge was slayne" and known to be printed by Richard Faques.¹ This gave an opportunity of comparing the type and printing of the ballad and prose narrative, and proved that both were the work of Faques, who, indeed, printed at least one other book of Skelton's.² In this I most fully concur, having had

¹ "Richard Fawkes, Faques, or Fakes, is thought by Bagford in his MS. Memoranda, to have been a foreigner, and to have printed in the Monastery of Syon, while one Myghel Fawkes printed in conjunction with Robert Copland in 1535. There is greater probability in the supposition that Fawkes was a relation of William Faques the king's printer (who printed from 1499 to 1508). Few of his books exhibit the same skilfulness of execution as do those of this latter printer. 'However that be (adds Herbert), Mr Thomas Wilson of Leeds in Yorkshire, in a letter to Mr. Ames, dated April 2, 1751, informed him that Richard Fawkes, printer, was second son of John Fawkes of Farnley Hall, Esqre, in the said County; and that in a pedigree he has, of that family, he is called Printer of London.' There is a loose MS. note in Herbert's 'Memoranda Books' that Wyer was servant to Fawkes; but I have never discovered a volume in which such testimony appears. . . . Time has spared very few of his publications, and his books may be treasured among the rarities of the typographical art."—"Typographical Antiquities," &c., by the Rev. Thomas Frogshall Dibdin, vol. iii., p. 355, ed. 1816.

² "Skelton's Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell," 1523. Quarto.

"A ryght delectable tratysfe vpon a goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell by mayster Skelton Poete laureat studyouslly dyuyed at Sheryfhotton Castell. In y^e foreste of galtres/ wherein ar cō-
pryfyde many & dyuers solacyons & ryghte pregnant allectyves
of syngular pleasure/ as more at large it doth apere in y^e pces
folowynge"

"¶ Inpryntyd by me Rycharde faukes dwellydg in durā rent

an opportunity of comparing them. It seems, however, that this fortunate discovery was to be full of surprises, for these two leaves were the very ones wanting to complete the copy of this tract in the library of S. Christie Miller, Esq., of Craigentinny, and Britwell, Bucks. The Ballad would, in all probability have remained still longer unknown to the general public, as it was somewhat hidden; being catalogued, as we have seen, under the heading "James IV. King of Scotland"—had it not been kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Anderson of the British Museum, who knew my fondness for ancient ballad literature.

The ballad, although not dated, carries with it internal evidence of its date. Indeed, Skelton was in such haste to sing his pæan, that he evidently acted on the first (and incorrect) version of the victory. It is probable that he did not know of the death of King James; at any rate, he speaks of him all through as living as a prisoner at Norham:—

"For to the Castell of Norham
I vnderstonde to soone ye cam.
For a prysoner there now ye be
Eyther to the devyll or the trinitie."

er els in Powlis chyrche yarde at the sygne of the **A.B.C.**
The yere of our lorde god. MCCCCCxxij. The. iiiij. day of
Octobre."

And again :—

“Of the Kynge of nauerne ye may take hede/
How vnfortunately he doth now spedē/
In double welles now he dooth dreme.
That is a Kynge witou a realme
At hym example ye wolde none take
Experyence hath brought you in the same brake.”

When Skelton re-wrote the ballad, and published it years after, in “Skelton Laureate against the Scottes,” he was aware of this anachronism and altered it :—

“Unto the castell of Norram
I vnderstante, to sone ye came
Thus for your guerdon quyt ar ye
Thanked be God in Trinitie.”

“Of the Kyng of Nauerne, ye might take heed
Ungraciously how he doth speed
In double delynge, so he did dreme
That he is Kynge, without a Reme.
And for example he would none take
Experiens hath brought you in such a brake.”

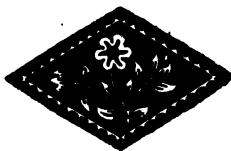
Skelton evidently considered it important to be early in the field, and as, from his position as poet laureate and the King’s orator, he must needs be loyal above all to his royal master, and thoroughly severe upon his enemies, he called upon Melpomene—

“To guyde my pen, and my pen to embibe
Illumine me your poet and your scribe

That with mixture of Aloes and bitter gall
I may compound, conjectures for accordiall
To angre the Scottes, and Irisk Kiteringes withal
That late were discomfet, with battaile marcial."

If he could do this, and sing his song of triumph,
there was no need of delay until authentic news of the
victory arrived,—so he set himself to do as he says:—

" So that now I haue deuised
And in my minde I haue comprised
Of the proude Scot, King Jemmy
To write some lytell tragedy
For no manner consideration
Of any sorowful lamentation
But for our special consolacion
Of al our royal Englysh Nacion."





CHAPTER III.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF JOHN SKELTON.

AVING thus established the authorship of the ballad, it will be advantageous to put on record some notices of Skelton himself. There are several quasi portraits of Skelton extant—but there is only one likely to be at all reliable. In the “Chaplet of Laurell” is one, but that is evidently from the same block that represents the month of April in “le cōpost et kalendrier des bergeres” printed by Guy Marchat, Paris, 1499. There was another portrait in an edition of “Dyuers Balletys and Dyties solacious”; but as this also did duty for Dr. Boorde (author of *Wife Men of Gotham*, &c.), it cannot be received as genuine. It seems singular, that, seeing he was a well-known character, and popular writer, old woodcuts should have to do duty for his “*vera effigies*”; but such is the case.

Another portrait in an edition of “Colin Clout”

printed by Richard Kele, is, to say the least, very dubious, judging by previous experience ; but there is one,—in “Portraits Illustrating Granger’s Biographical History of England,” commonly known as Richardson’s Collection, which really does seem a probable likeness—a flat black cap forms the headpiece of a frank smiling face, which is rather broad, and with pointed chin. He wears a slight beard and moustache. He is dressed in a black cassock and coat, with a collar slightly laced, hair rather short and curling, ears somewhat prominent.

The only attempt at authenticating this portrait is, that it is “from an original picture in the possession of Mr. Richardson.”

His birthplace is unknown, some imagining he was born in Norfolk, others that he came from Cumberland, and we are in equal ignorance as to the date of his birth. It is assumed that it could not be earlier than 1460, and the reasoning by which this surmise has been arrived at, is that probably one of the earliest poems he wrote was that “Of the Death of the Noble prince Kynge Edward the forth”, who died 1483. It is certain that he studied at Oxford, and was laureated there somewhere about 1490, for in the preface to “the boke of Eneydos compyled by Vyrgyle,” which was translated from the French by Caxton, and published by him in 1490, we find “But I praye mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the vnyuersite of oxenford, to ouersee and correct this sayd booke.” Search

was made in the Oxford records by the Rev. Dr. Bliss, who was unable to find any trace of Skelton's distinction, but the poet himself says :—

“At Oxforth the vniversyte
Auauifid I was to that degre ;
By hole consent of theyr senate,
I was made poete laureat.”¹

Shortly after, the University of Cambridge conferred an *ad eundem* degree on him. “An. Dom. 1493 et Hen. 7. nono. Conceditur Johi Skelton Poete in partibus transmarinis² atque Oxon. Laurea ornato, ut apud nos eadem decoraretur,” and in 1504-5 this was again mentioned, and the right of wearing the habit which the King had granted was conceded to him. He was not a little proud of this habit, and in his poems against Gernesche he mentions it several times.

“What eylythe thé, rebawde, on me to rauie ?
A Kyng to me myn habyte gauie :”

It seems to have been white and green, and exceedingly fine, for he says :—

“Your sworde ye swere, I wene,
So tranchaunt and so kene,
Xall Kyl both wyght and grene :
Your foly is to grett
The Kynges colours to threte.”

¹ “Skelton Laureate defendar ageint lusty Garnyfhe well besseen Chrystofer Chalangar, et cetera” lines 81-4.

² Louvain, where he had also studied.

On this habit, or on some other portion of his attire,
the name of his Muse Calliope was embroidered.

"Why were ye *Calliope* embrawdred with letters of golde ?
Skelton Laureate. Orato. Reg. maketh this aunswere &^s—

Calliope
As ye may se,
Regent is she
 Of poetes al,
Whiche gauë to me
The high degre
Laureat to be
 Of fame royll ;
Whose name enrolde
With filke and golde
I dare be bolde
 Thus for to were
Of her I holde
And her houfholde ;
Though I waxe olde
 And somedele fere
Yet is she fayne,
Voyde of disdayn,
Me to retayne
 Her seruiture :
With her certayne
I will remayne
As my souerayne
 Moost of pleasure
Maulgre touz malheureux."

Skelton followed the custom of most learned men of that age, he entered the Church, and was admitted to the grade of subdeacon on the 31st March, deacon

14th April, and ordained priest 9th June, A.D. 1498. It is uncertain when he was appointed tutor to Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., but he had basked in the sunshine of court favour for some time previously, for he celebrated the creation of Prince Arthur as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester in A.D. 1489 in a composition called "Prince Arthur's Creacyoun,"—a piece which is not now extant,—and when Prince Henry was created Duke of York in A.D. 1494, Skelton seized the opportunity of dedicating some Latin verses to his patron. He seems also to have attended to the studies of his young charge, for he writes,¹

"The Duke of Yorkis creauncer whan Skelton was
Now Henry the VIII. Kyng of Englonde,
A Tratyse he deuyd and browght it to pas,
Callid *Speculum Principis*, to bere in his honde
Therin to rede; and to vnderlande
All the demenour of princely astate,
To be our Kyng, of God preordinate."

No date has been assigned to his appointment as Rector of Disf in Norfolk, which preferment he seems to have held till his death, but that he had the living in 1504 there can be no doubt, for his signature "Master John Skelton. Laureat. Parson of Disse," appears as a witness to the will of Mary Cooper of Disf in that year. Here, however, he came under

¹ "Garlande of Laurell."

the heavy displeasure of his diocesan, Nix or Nykke, on account of his marriage, conduct which would hardly call forth such a heavy punishment now-a-days.¹

¹ In 1873 Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., discovered among the MSS. of Mr. William Bragge, F.S.A., at Sheffield, an unpublished lyric by Skelton referring to this episode in the domestic life of the poet. From the allusion to the separation of a husband and wife, when the latter was "ny off progeny," we may fairly conclude that it was written shortly after Skelton's enforced separation from his wife, during his refuge at Westminster. The poem, which formed the subject of a communication by Mr. Birch to the "Athenæum," is as follows:—

"Petevelly Constraynd am y With weepyng y	{ to morne and playne.
"Thatt we so ny off progeny So fodenly	{ Schuld parte on twayne.
"When yee are goyn Conforte ys noyne Butt al a looyne	{ Endewre must y.
"With grevly groyne Makynge my moyne As hytt where oone	{ That schuld nedys dy.
"With chance sodyne Soo doythe me strayne Yn every wayne	{ That for no thyng,
"I cannott layne Nor yeet refrayne Myne yes tweyne	{ Frome foore wepyng."

Fuller¹ says “The Dominican Friars were the next he contested with, whose vitiousnes lay pat enough for his hand; but such foul Lubbers fell heavy on all which found fault with them. These instigated Nix Bishop of Norwich, to call him to account for keeping a Concubine, which cost him, (as it seems) a suspension from his benefice. We must not forget how being charged by some on his death bed for begetting many children on the aforesaid Concubine; he protested, that in his Conscience he kept her in the notion of a wife, though such his cowardliness that he would rather confess adultery, (then accounted but a venial;) than own Marriage esteemed a capital crime in that age.”

But one can hardly fancy jovial, hard-hitting Skelton, whose “talke was as he wraet,” as a priest. As Anthony Wood² says of him, he “was esteemed more fit for the stage than the pew or pulpit,” and, indeed, the “certayne merye tales of Skelton, Poet Lauriat,” countenance the assertion; and the old story of “Long Meg of Westminister” shows him as drinking at an inn with his hostes, a Spanish knight called Sir James of Castille, and Will Somers, and speaks of him as being in “his mad merrie vein.” Church-yarde writes that he was “feldom out of Princis grace”

¹ “The History of the Worthies of England endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, D.D.” Lond. 1662, p. 257.

² Blis’ edition of “Ath. Oxon.,” vol. i., p. 50.

—he had the favour both of his royal master and of Cardinal Wolsey. He was closely allied in friendship with the latter in 1519, for “Lautre envoy” to the “Garlande of Laurell” is dedicated “Ad serenissimam maiestatem regiam, pariter cum domino Cardinali Legato a latere honorificissimo, &c.,” and Wolsey was not sole legate until that year, having previously been joined with Campeggio. Another passage in his works shows he enjoyed the cardinal’s favour. We read in “Lenvoy” appended to “Howe the douty duke of Albany, lyke a coward knyght, ran awaye shamfully with an hundred thoufande tratlande scottes and faint harted frenchemen: beside the water of Twede, &c.” :—

“Skelton Laureat, obsequious et loyall
To my lorde Cardynals right noble grace, &c.

Lenvoy.

Go lytell quayre apace
In moost humble wyse
Before his noble grace
That caused you to deuise
This lytel enterprise
And hym moost lowly pray
In hys mynde to comprise
Those wordes his grace dyd faye
Of an ammas gray.
Je, Foy enterment
En sa bone grace.”

On account of a circumstance, the reason of which

has not yet been made apparent, his pen so lashed the cardinal, especially in "Why come ye not to Court," which is a gross personal attack, and "Speake parrot," that his eminence became his better enemy. And this is not to be wondered at, for in the former poem Skelton rails violently against him. We may take one or two passages out of several, for example :—

"But this mad Amalecke.
 Like to Amamalek
 He regardeth Lordes
 No more than pothordes
 He is in such elacion
 Of his exaltacion
 And the supportacion
 Of our Soueraine Lorde
 He ruleth al at will
 Without reason or skyll
 Howbeit they be prymordyall
 Of hys wretched originall
 And his base progeny
 And his grefy genealogy
 He came of the ranke roiall
 That was cast out of a bouchers stall

* * * *
 For he was parde
 No doctour of devinitie
 Nor doctor of the law.
 Nor of none other saw.
 But a poore maister of arte

* * * *

God sau hys noble grace
 And graunt him a place
 Endleſſe to dwel
 With the deuill of hel
 For and he were there
 We nead neuer feare
 Of the feendes blacke
 For I vndertake
 He wold so brag and Crake
 That he wold than make
 The devils to quake."

The cardinal caused measures to be taken with a view to apprehend him, but Skelton fled, and took sanctuary at Westminster with his old friend Abbot Iflip. There he remained most probably until his death, which occurred 21st June, 1529. He was buried in the chancel of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

The quaint poet Churchyarde thus writes of the departed Laureate :—

" Ohe shall I leaue out Skeltons name
 The blosſome of my frute
 The tree wheron indeed
 My branchis all might groe
 Nay Skelton wore the Laurell wreath
 And paſt in Schoels ye knoe.
 A poet for his arte,
 Whoes iudgment fuer was hie,
 And had great practies of the pen,
 His works they will not lie.
 His terms to taunts did lean,
 His talk was as he wraet :

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Full quick of witte, right sharp of words,
And skilfull of the staet.
Of reason riep and good,
And to the haetfull mynd :
That did disdain his doings still,
A skornar of his kynd.
Most pleasant every way,
As poets ought to be :
And seldom out of Princis grace
And great with eche degré."

It has been the fashion to criticise Skelton for the language which he used. Pope even went so far as to call him " beastly Skelton," and Miss Agnes Strickland was particularly severe upon him ; but these writers ignore the state of society as it then was, and forget that both Rabelais and Skelton wrote for a purpose ; Southey with better discernment says : " Unless Skelton had written thus for the coarsest palates he could not have poured forth his bitter and undaunted satire in such perilous times."





CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF FLODDON.



HE battle of Flodden has had many chroniclers, and students of history are familiar with its details, but it is necessary, in order thoroughly to understand Skelton's ballad, that the ground should be gone over yet once again.

James IV., King of Scots, was in the seventeenth year of his age when he ascended the throne, having been born 17 May, 1471, and yet even at this early age he had passed through much trouble. He never ceased to bear in mind that his father's sad and violent death had placed him upon the throne; reached as it was by the fearful step of filial rebellion. The confederate barons rose against James III., who marched on Stirling, where Shaw, the governor of the castle and guardian to the young prince, refused him admission. The confederates approached, and the prince joined them,

so that both sides displayed the Royal Standard. It was at Sauchie Burn, between Bannockburn and Stirling, that the armies joined. The fight was very far from desperate, but the timorous king fled. His grey horse galloping along, was frightened by a miller's wife dropping the pitcher which she was filling at a well, and the king was thrown to the ground. He was carried into the miller's house and laid on a bed, where he disclosed himself, and desired that a priest should be summoned to shrive him. The woman ran out calling for a priest for the king, and a man who was passing at the time, under pretence of performing this last office of the church, entered the house and stooped over the king's bed, and stabbed him many times. The feigned priest fled, and was never found.¹

¹ Lindsay's "Chronicles of Scotland" gives the following account of the king's death:—" Cuming throw the toun of Bannockburne, ane woman perceaved ane man cuming fast vpoun hors, shoo being carrieing in watter, cam fast away and left the jug behind her ; so the Kingis hors lap the burne and slak of friewill quhairfra the woman cam. The King being evill fittin, (*i.e.* riding badly) fell aff his hors befoir the mylne doore of Bannockburne, and so was bruised with the fall, being heavie in armour, that he fell in ane deadlie sowne : And the miller and his wayff harled him into the mylne, and not knowing quhat he was, lefft him vp in ane nuik and covered him with ane cloath ; And be the Kingis enemies war reteiring back, the King himselff over came lying in the mylne, and cryed, if thair was ane preist to mak his confessioun. The myller and his wayff heiring thir wordis, inquyred of him quhat man he was, and what was his name. He

His father's death preyed upon young James's mind, for although he was not actively associated with it, yet he could not but deem himself to have been in some respects the cause of the king's tragic end, as he was in arms against his father at the time.

Holinshed says : " his eldest son James the fourth was crowned King of Scotland and began his reigne the 24 of June in the yeare 1488 being not past fixteene yeeres of age, who notwithstanding that he had beene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine ; yet neuerthelesse afterwards, hee became a right noble prince & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token therof, he ware continuallie an iron chaine about his midle all the daies of his life."

happened to say, vnhappilie ' This day at morne I was your King' Than the milleris wayff clapped her handis, and ran furth and cryed for ane priest. In this meane tym e ane priest was cuming by ; sum says he was my lord Grayes servand ; quho answeirid and said " heir am I ane preift, quhair is the King ? " Then the milleris wayff tuik the priest by the hand, and led him in at the mylne doore, and how soone the said preift saw the King, he knew him incontinent, and kneilled doun on his knies, and speired at the Kingis grace if he might live if he had guid leichment : he answeirid him he trowed he might bot he wold have had a preift to tak his adwyce, and to give him his sacrament. The preift answeirid, that fall I doe haistilie,—and pulled out ane whinger, and strak him four or fyve tymes evin to the heart, and syne gatt him on his back and had him away. Bot no man knew quhat he did with him, nor quhair he buried him."

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This chain he increased in weight every year by the addition of another link, and it was the absence of this chain on the king's body when found after the battle of Floddon that caused the rumour that he was not killed, but had escaped, and would come again to reign over his country.





CHAPTER V.

EVENTS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES IV. OF SCOTLAND.



THER principal events connected with England in the reign of James IV. are the assistance and countenance which the king gave to Perkin Warbeck, and his marriage with Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII., with whom he received a portion of £10,000, a jointure of £2,000 per annum, and yearly pin money to the value of £33*1* 6*s.* 8*d.* being settled by the king on his consort. The royal pair were married in June, 1502, Margaret being taken to her husband by the very Earl of Surrey who was destined afterwards to meet the king, and conquer him at Floddon. The old chronicler¹ tells the story very quaintly, "On the sixteenth of June King Henrie tooke his iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to

¹ Holinshed.

Coliweston, where his mother the Countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in pastime and great solace, he tooke leaue of his daughter, giuing her his blessing with a fatherly exhortation, and committed the conveiance of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuere hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladi was conveied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, untill she came to the towne of Berwike, and from thence vnto Lambert church in Lamermoor within Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, she was conveied vnto Edinburgh, where the day after hir comming thither, she was maried vnto the said king with great and solemne triumph to the high reioifing of all that were present."

But, as history not infrequently shows, marriage between scions of royal houses does not necessarily produce close and continued amity between the nations, and the causes which led to the disastrous battle of Floddon were not likely to be overcome by such relationship. Of all historians whose researches have led them to treat of this subject, Lingard gives the terefest and clearest account of the various events which

led James to war with England. The passage is worthy to be quoted in its entirety. Of the marriage between James and Margaret, the historian writes, “ This new connection did not, however, extinguish the hereditary partiality of the Scottish prince for the ancient alliance with France ; and his jealousy of his English brother was repeatedly irritated by a succession of real or supposed injuries. 1. James had frequently claimed, but claimed in vain, from the equity of Henry, the valuable jewels which the late king had bequeathed as a legacy to his daughter, the Scottish queen. 2. In the last reign he had complained of the murder of Sir Robert Ker, the warden of the Scottish marches, and had pointed out the bastard Heron of Ford as the assassin ; and yet neither Heron, nor his chief accomplices, had been brought to trial. 3. Lastly, he demanded justice for the death of Andrew Barton. As long ago as 1476, a ship belonging to John Barton had been plundered by a Portuguese squadron ; and in 1506, just thirty years afterwards, James granted to Andrew, Robert and John, the three sons of Barton, letters of reprisal, authorizing them to capture the goods of Portuguese merchants, till they should have indemnified themselves to the amount of twelve thousand ducats. But the adventurers found their new profession too lucrative to be quickly abandoned ; they continued to make seizures for several years ; nor did they confine themselves to

vessels sailing under the Portuguese flag, but captured English merchantmen, on the pretence that they carried Portuguese property. Wearied out by the clamour of the sufferers, Henry pronounced the Bartons pirates, and the lord Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, with the king's permission, boarded and captured two of their vessels in the Downs. In the action Andrew Barton received a wound, which proved fatal ; the survivors were sent by land into Scotland. James considered the loss of Barton, the bravest and most experienced of his naval commanders, as a national calamity ; he declared it a breach of the peace between the two crowns ; and in the most peremptory tone demanded full and immediate satisfaction. Henry scornfully replied, that the fate of a pirate was unworthy the notice of kings, and that the dispute, if the matter admitted of dispute, might be settled by the Commissioners of both nations at their next meeting on the borders.

“ While James was brooding over these causes of discontent, Henry had joined in the league against Louis ; and from that moment the Scottish court became the scene of the most active negotiations, the French Ambassadors claiming the aid of Scotland, the English insisting on its neutrality. The former appealed to the poverty and the chivalry of the king. Louis made him repeated and valuable presents of money ; Anne, the French queen, named him her

knight, and sent him a ring from her own finger. He cheerfully renewed the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, with an additional clause reciprocally binding each prince to help his ally against all men whomsoever. Henry could not be ignorant that this provision was aimed against himself; but he had no reason to complain; for in the last treaty of peace, the kings of England and Scotland had reserved to themselves the power of sending military aid to any of their friends, provided that aid were confined to defensive operations.

“ It now became the object of the English envoys to bind James to the observance of peace during the absence of Henry. Much diplomatic finesse was displayed by each party. To every project presented by the English the Scottish cabinet assented, but with this perplexing proviso, that in the interval no incursion should be made beyond the French frontier. Each negotiated and armed at the same time. It had been agreed that, to redress all grievance, an extraordinary meeting of commissioners should be held on the borders during the month of June. Though in this arrangement both parties acted with equal insincerity, the English gave the advantage to their opponents, by demanding an adjournment to the middle of October. Their object could not be concealed. Henry was already in France; and James having summoned his subjects to meet him on Burrow Moor, despatched his

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fleet with a body of three thousand men to the assistance of Louis."

This very clear and concise historical account brings us down to the time of the ballad, which I shall endeavour, as far as possible, to illustrate by extracts from the writings of contemporary, or nearly contemporary, historians.





CHAPTER VI.

CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE BALLAD.



ORD HERBERT was then besieging Tereouenne, a town in the province of Artois, to the south-east of Calais, and the Earl of Shrewsbury had been sent with a division to support him, when on 21 July, 1513, Henry marched out of Calais, with an army of 15,000 horse and foot. Near Ardres they encountered a strong detachment of French cavalry, who however withdrew, having executed a part of their mission, that of supplying the town with provisions and ammunition. He joined the forces of Lord Herbert and the Earl of Shrewsbury, and sat down before the town, whose siege was to be so slow, and whose ultimate fate was destruction. However, unpropitious weather prevented the English king from occupying the wonderful pavilion of silk and cloth of gold and blue damask, and he had to inhabit a wooden house. The siege progressed until, to use the words of the chronicler

from whom I shall have occasion presently to quote considerably¹:—“The xi daie of August beying thurday, the Kynge lyeing at the siege of Tyrwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian thēperour was in y^e towne of Ayre. The Kyng prepared al thinges necessarie to mete with themperour in triumph. The noble men of the Kynge's camp were gorgeously apparelled, ther coursers barded with cloth of gold, of damaske & broderie, there apparell all tissue cloth of gold and syluer, and gold smithes woorke, great cheynes of balderickes of gold and belles of bullion, but in especial y^e duke of Buckingham, he was in purple fatten, his apparel and his barde full of Antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and full of spangyls and littell belles of gold meruelous costly and pleasāt to behold. The Kyng was in a garment of greate riches in iuels as perles and stone, he was armed in a light armure, the master of hys horse folowed him with a spare horse, the henxmen folowed beryng the Kyngs peces of harnys, euery one mounted on a greate courier, the one bare the helme, the seconde his graūgarde, the thirde his spere, the fourth his axe, and so euery one had some thyng belonging to a man of armes ; the apparell of the ix henxmen were white clothe of golde and crymsyn cloth of gold, richely embrawdered with goldeflythes woorke, the trappers of the corsets were mantell harneys coulpened, and in every vent a

¹ Hall, edit. 1548.

longe bel of fyne gold, and on euery pendant a depe tassel of fyne gold in bullion, whiche trappers were very ryche. The Kyng and themperour met between ayre and the camp, in the fowlest wether that lightly hath bene fene. Themperour gentely enterteined the Kyng, and the Kyng lykewyse hym, and after a littell communicacion had betwene them by cause the wether was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperor and all his men were at that daie all in black Cloth for the Emprise his wife was lately diseased." Maximilian had come nominally to place himself as a volunteer under Henry.

We now come to that portion of the eventful time which more particularly belongs to our subject :—
" After that the Kyng was thus retorneed to his campe, within a day or twayne ther arryued in the army a Kyng of Armes of Scotlād called Lyon with his cote of armes on his back, and defyred to speke with the Kyng, who within shorte tyme was by Garter cheffe Kynge of armes brought to the Kinges prefence, where he beyng almost dismayed seynge the Kyng so nobly accompanied, with few woordes and metely good reuerence, deliuered a letter to the King, which receued y^e letter and redde it him selfe, and when he had redde it, without any more delay, he hym selfe aunswereed after this sorte. Nowe we perceyue the Kynge of Scottes our brother in law & your master to be y^e same person whom we euer toke hym to be,

for we neuer estemed hym to be of any truthe & so
nowe we haue founde it, for notwithstandingynge his
othe, his promise in y^e woorde of Kynge & his owne
hand and seale, yet now he hath brokē his faithe and
promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer,
and entendeth to inuade our realme in our absence
whiche he dirst not ones attempte, our person beyng
presente, but he sheweth himselfe not to be degenerate
from the condicions of his forefathers, whose faythes
for the most parte hath euer byn violated and ther pro-
mises never obserued, farther then they liste. Therfore
tell thy master, first that he shall neuer be comprised
in any league where in I am a confederate, & also
that I suspectyng his treuth (as now the dede proueth)
haue left an earle in my realme at home whiche shalbe
able to defende him and all his powre, for we haue
prouided so that he shall not fynde our land destitute
of people as he thynketh to do ; but thus faye to thy
master, that I am the very owner of Scotlād and y^t he
holdeth it of me by homage,¹ and in so much as now
contrary to his bounden duety he beinge my vassall,
doth rebell against me, w^t Gods help I shal at my
returne expulse him his realme and so tell hym : fir
sayd the Kyng of Armes, I am his naturall subiecte &
he my naturall lord, & y^t he commaundeth me to say, I

¹ See Ballad :—

“ Now must ye knowe our Kynge for your regent/
your souerayne lorde and presedent/”

may boldely say w^t fauor, but the commaundementes of other I may not, nor dare not saye to my souereigne lord, but your letters may with your honour sent, declare your pleasure, for I may not say suche woordes of reproche to him whome I owe only my allegiance & fayth. Then sayd the Kyng, wherfore came you hyther, will you receyue no aunswere? yes sayde Liō your answere requireth doyng and no writynge, that is, that immediately you should returne home: Well said the Kyng I wyll returne to your domage at my pleasure, and not at thy masters somonyng. Then the Kyng commaunded garter to take hym to his tente & make him good chere, which so dyd, and cherished him wel for he was sore appalled: after he was departed the Kynge sent for all the chefe capitaynes, and before them and all his counsaill caused the letter to be redde, the trewe tenor whereof foloweth woerde by worde.





CHAPTER VII.

Continuation.

THE LETTER OF THE KYNG OF SCOTTES.¹



IGHT excellent, right high, and mighty Prince, our dearest brother & Cousyng, we commaunde vs vnto you in our mayst harty maner, & receuyed fra Raff heraulde your letters quhatuntill, you approue and allow the doynges of your commissioners lately beyng with ours, at the borders of bathe the realmes for makynge of redresse, quylke is thought to you and your counsell should be continuet and delaet to the xv daye of October. Als ye write flaars by see aught not cōpere personally, but by their attorneis. And in your other letters with our herald Ilay ye ascertaine

¹ This letter, and Henry's reply, appear also in Harl. MSS. 2252, and in Holinshed, but as the variations between them are so very trifling, I still quote Hall.

vs ye will nought entre into the treux taken between
the maſt Christian kyng and your father of Aragon
because ye and others of the hale liege, neither ſhould
ne make peace, treux nor abſtinēce of warre with
your common enemy without conſent of all the Con-
federates. And that the Emperour Kyng of Aragon,
ye and euery of you be bounden to make actual warre
this instant ſommer agaynst your common enemie.
And that ſo to do is concluded and openly ſworne in
Paules kyrke at London vpon faincte Markes daye
laſt by paſt. And ferther haue denied faue conduyte
vpon our requeſtes y^e a Seruitor of ours miſt haue
reſorted your preſence, as our herald Ilay reportes:
Right excellēt, right high, and mightie Prince our
dereſt brother and Couſyng, the ſayd metyng of our
and your commissioners at the borders, was peremp-
torily appoyned betwyxt you and vs eftir diuers dietes
for reformaciō before contynued to the Commissioners
metyng, to effecte that due redrefſe fuld haue ben
made at the ſayde metyng, lyke as for our parte our
Commissioners offered to haue made that tyme; and
for your part na malefactour was then arrested to the
ſayde diet. And to glose the ſame, ye nowe wright,
that flaars by ſee nede not compere personally, but by
their attourneys, quylk is agayne lawe of GOD and man.
And get in crimenall accion, all flaars fulde nought
compere personally, na punicion fulde folowe for
ſlaughter, and than vane were it to ſeke farther

metynges or redresse. And hereby apperes as the dede shewes that ye wyll nouther kepe gude weyes of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs, the greate wronges and unkyndnes done before to vs and our lyeges we ponderate quhilke we haue suffered this long time in vp beryng, maynswering, nounredressing of Attemptates, so as the byll of the taken of in haldynge of bastard Heron with his complices in your cuntre, quha flewe our wardan vnder traist of dayes of metyng for justice and thereof was filat and ordaynt to be delyuered in slaynge of our liege noblemen vnder colour by your folkes, in takynge of vthers oute of our realme, prisonet and cheinet by the cragges in your cōtre, withholding of our wives legacie promist in your diuerse letters for dispite of vs, slaughter of Andrewe Barton by your awne commaund quha than had nought offended to you nor your lieges undressed, and breakynge of the amitie in that behalfe by your dede, and with haldynge of our shippes and artilarie to your vse, quharupon eft our diuerse requifitions at your wardens, Commissioners, Ambaffadours, and your ſelfe, ye wrate & als shewe by vthers vnto vs, that ful redrefſe fuld be made at theſe metynges of Commissioners, and ſa were in hope of reformacion or at the leſt ye for our fake walde haue defiſted fra inuasion of our frendes and Couſynges with in their awne countreis that haue nought offended at you as we firſte required you in favoure of oure tendre Cou-

fynge the duke of Geldre, quham to destroye and disinherite ye send your folkes and dudde that was in them. And right sa we latly defyred for our brother and Coufynge the mast Christen kynge of Fraunce, quham ye haue caused to tyne his countre of Mil-laigne, and now inuades his selfe quha is with vs in secunde degree of blude, and hafe ben vnto you kynde witoute offense, and more kyndar than to vs: notwithstandingynge in defense of his persone we mon take parte, and therto ye because of vthers haue gyuen occasion to vs and to our lyeges in tym by past, nouther doynge iustly nor kyndely towardes vs, procedynge alwayes to the vtter destruction of our nereſt frendes, quha mon doo for vs quhan it shall be necefſarie. In euill example that y^e wyll hereafter be better vnto vs quham ye lightlye faouure, manifestly wranged your ſister for our ſake in cōtrary our writtes. And fayeng vnto our herauld that we giue you fayre wordes & thinkes the cōtrary, in dede ſuch it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, trufthyng that ye ſhoule haue emended to vs or worth in kyndar to our frendes for our ſakes and fuld nougtight haue ſtopped oure ſeruitors paſſage to laboure peax, that thei might as the papes halines exhortēd vs by his brevites to do. And ther apon we were contented to haue ouerſene our harmes & to haue remitted the ſame, though vther informacion was made to our haly father pape Iuly by the Cardinall of Yorke your Ambaffadour. And

sen ye haue now put vs fra all gude beleue through
the premisses, and specially in denyenge of faueconduyte
to our seruautes to resorte to your presence, as your
ambassador doctor west instantly desyred we sulde
fende one of our counsayll vnto you apon greate mat-
ters, and appoynctyng of differentes debatable betwyxt
you and vs, furtheryng of peax yf we might betwyxt
the most Christen Kyng and you, we neuer harde to
this purpose faueconduite denied betwixte infideles.
Herefore we write to you this tyme at length playnes
of our mynde, that we require and desyre you to
desiste fra farther inuasion and vtter destrucciō of our
brother and Coufyng the mayst Christen Kyng, to
whome by all confederacion bloude and alye and also
by new bande, quhilk ye haue compelled vs lately to
take through your iniuries and harmes without remedy
done daily vnto vs, our lieges and subdites, we are
boundē and oblist for mutuall defence ilke of vthers,
like as ye and your confederates be oblist for mutuall
inuasions and actual warre : Certifieng you we will
take parte in defence of our brother and Coufyng y^e
maist Christen Kyng. And wil do what thyng we
trayest may craft cause you to desist fra persuite of
him, and for denyt and pospoynct iustice to our lieges
we mon gyue letters of Marque accordyng to the
amitie betwixte you and vs, quharto ye haue had
lyttell regarde in tyme by past, as we haue ordaint
our herald the bearer hereof to faye, gife it like you

to here him and gyf him credence : right excellent right high and mighty Prince our dereft brother and Cousyng, the Trinitie haue you in kepyng. Geuen vnder our signet at Edynborowe the xxvi daie of July.

When the Kynge rede this letter, he fente it in all haste to the Earle of Surrey into England, whyche then lay at Pomfrett, and caused another letter to be deuised to the Kyng of Scottes, the Copie where of foloweth.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince &c, and haue receiued your writyng, Dated at Edinburgh the xxvi daie of July by your heraulde Lyon this bearer, wherein after rehersall and accumulaciō of many surmised iniuries grefes and damages doone by vs & our subiectes to you and your lieges, the specialites whereof were superfluous to reherse, remembryng that to theim and euery of theim in effect reasonable aunswere founded vpon lawe and cōscience hath tofore ben made to you and youre counsail, ye not only requyre vs to desiste from farther inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother & Cousyng the French kyng, but also certifie vs that you will take parte in defence of the sayd kyng, and that thyng whiche ye trust may rather cause vs to desiste, from persuite of him, with many contriued occasions and cōmunications by you causeles sought and imagened, sownyng to the breache of y^e perpetuall peace, passed, concluded & sworne, betwixte you and vs, of which your im-

magened querelles causeles deuised to breake with vs
contrarye your othe promised, al honor and kyndneffe:
We cannot maruayle, confideryng the auncient accus-
tomable maners of your progenitours, whiche neuer
kept lenger faythe and promise than pleased theym.
Howbeit, yt the loue and dread of God, nighnes of
bloud, honour of the world, lawe and reason, had
bound you, we suppose ye woulde neuer haue so farre
proceeded, specially in our absence. Wherein the Pope
and all princes Christened may well note in you, dis-
honorable demeanour whan ye lyeing in awayte seke
the waies to do that in our sayde absence, whiche ye
woulde have ben well aduised to attempte, we beyng
within our realme and present: And for theudent
approbation hereof, we nede none other proues ne
witnesse but youre owne writynges heretofore to vs
sent, we beyng within our realme, wherein ye neuer
made mencion of takynge parte with our enemie the
Frenche kynge, but passed the tyme with vs tyll after
our departure from our said realme. And now percase
ye supposyng vs too farre from our sayde realme to
be destitute of defense agaynst your inuasions, have
vttered the olde rancour of your mynde whiche in
couert maner ye haue longe kept secrete. Neuer the
lesse, we remembryng the brytilnes of your promyse
and suspectynge though not wholy beleuyng so much
vnstedfastnes, thought it right expedient and necef-
sarie to put our faide realme in a redynes for resistyng

of your sayde enterprises, hauyng firme trust in our Lorde GOD and the right wytnes of our cause with thaffistence of our confederates and Alies wee shalbe able to resynte the malice of all Scysmatyques and their adherentes beyng by the generall counsayll expressely excommunicate and interdycted, trustrynge also in tyme conveniente to remember our frendes, and requyte you and our enemies, whiche by such vnnaturall demeanour haue given sufficiente cause to the dysheron of you and your posteritie for ever from the possybilitie that ye thynke to haue to the royalme, whiche ye nowe attempte to inuade. And yf the example of the kyng of Nauarre beyng excluded from his royalme for affistence gyuen to the Frenche kyng cannot restrayne you frō this vnnaturall dealynge, we suppose ye shall haue lyke affistence of the sayde Frenche kynge as the kyng of Nauarre hath nowe: Who is a kyng withoute a realme, and so the Frenche kynge peaceably suffereth hym to contynue, wherunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in thys oure wrytyng, we nede not make any farther aunswere to the manyfolde greues by you surmyfed in your letter: for as muche as yf any lawe or reason coulde haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue ben many and often tymes sufficiencely aunswered to the same: Excepte only to the pretended greues touchynge the denyeing of our saufeconduyte to your Ambassadoure

too bee last sent vnto vs: Where vnto we make this aunswere, that we had graunted the said saufe conduite, and yf your herald would haue taken the same with hym lyke as he hath ben accustomed to sollicitee saufeconduytes for marchauntes and others heretofore, ye might as sone have had that as any other, for we neuer denied saufeconduyte to any your lieges to come vnto vs & no further to passe, but we see wel lyke as your sayde herald hath heretofore mad finister reporte contrary to trouthe so hath he done nowe in this case as is manifest and open. Fynally as towchynge your requisition to desiste from farther attemptyng againte our enemy the French kyng, we knowe you for no competent iudge of so high auctoritie to requyre vs in that behalfe; wherfor God willyng we purpose with the ayde and assilence of our confederates & Alies to persecute the same, and as ye do to vs and our realme, so it shalbe remembred and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our lord and our Patrone saint George. Who righte excellente, right highe and myghtie Prince &c. Geuen vnder our signet in our campe before Tyrwyn the xii daye of August.¹

When this letter was written and sealed, the Kynge

¹ This date shows that Lyon was waiting for the King on his return from meeting Maximilian—the answer must have been written the next day.

Skelton evidently saw copies of these letters immediately

sent for Lyon the Scottyssh heraulde and declared to hym that he had wel considered his masters letter, and therto had made a reasonable answere, and gaue to hym in rewarde a hundred angels, for which rewarde he humbly thāked the kyng and so taried with gartier al night, and euer he sayde that he was sory to thynke what damage shoulde be done in Englande by his Master or the kynge returned, and so the nexte daye he departed into Flaunders wyth hys Letter to haue taken shyppe to sayle in to Scotlande, but or he coulde haue shyp and wynde hys master was slayne."

after their arrival in England—as he makes use of the very phraseology—“Who is a Kynge withoute a realme,” when speaking of the King of Navarre.





CHAPTER VIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SCOTTISH CAMPAIGN.



MEANWHILE the Earl of Surrey, who had been left by Henry to look after the Scots, and who had promised “so to do my duety that your grace shall fynde me diligent, and to fulfill your will shalbe my gladnes,” sent Sir William Bulmer to look after the Border land. And it was lucky he did so, for “one daye in August, the lorde Chamberlayne and Warden of Scotland with vii or viii ~~xx~~ men with banner displayed entered into England and brentand haryed a great praye in Northumberland; that hering Syr Williā bulmer called to hym the gentelman of the borders with his archers and al they were not a thousand men. And when they were nere assembled they brought thē selfes in to a brome felde called Mylfeld, where the Scottes should passe. And as y^e Scottes proudly returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake oute, and the

Scottes on fote like men them defended, but the arches shotte so holy together, that they made y^e Scottes geve place and v or vi hundred of them were slayne, and iii hundred or more taken prisoners, and the pray reckned beside a great nûber of geldinges that were taken in the countrey, and the lorde Hume lorde Chamberlayne fled and his banner taken."

This was an unlucky beginning for the Scots, and it had the effect of causing James to take the fatal resolution of invading England. But he did not enter into it heartily, and the superstitious of that age afterwards called to mind several portents in connection with the commencement of the campaign. Lindsay mentions one or two, "Att this tyme the king came to Lithgow quhair he was at the counsall verrie sad and dollorous, makand his prayeris to God, to send him ane guid succes in his voyage.¹ And thair cam ane man clad in ane blew gowne, belted about him with ane roll of lining, and ane pair of brottikines on his feitt, and all vther thingis conforme thairto. Bot he had nothing on his head, bot syd hair to his shoulderis and bald befoir. He seemed to be ane man of fiftie yeires, and cam fast forwardis, cryng among the lordis, and speciallie for the king, saying, that he desired to speak with him, quhile at the last he cam to the dask, quhair the king was at his prayeris.

¹ This story is also related by Buchanan and Holinshed.

But when he saw the king he gave him no due reverence nor salutatioun, but leined him doun grufflingis vpoun the dask, and said, "Sir King, my mother has sent me to the, desiring the not to goe quhair thow art purposed, quhilk if thow doe, thou fall not fair weill in thy journey, nor non that is with the. Fardder, shoe forbad the, not to mell nor vfe the counsell of wemen, quhilk if thow doe, thow wilbe confoundit and brought to shame." Be this man had spoken thir wordis to the king, the evin song was neir done, and the king paused on thir wordis ; studieing to give him ane answer. Bot in the meane tyme, befoir the kingis eyis, and in the prefence of the wholl lordis that war about him for the tyme, this man evanisched away, and could be no more seine. I heard Sir David Lindsay, lyon herald,¹ and John Inglis the marchell, who war at that tyme young men, and speciall servandis to the kingis grace, thought to have takin this man, bot they could not, that they might have speired farther tydingis at him, bot they could not touch him. But all thir vncouth novellis and counfall could not stay the king from his purpose, and wicked interpryse, bot haisted him fast to Edinburgh to mak provisioun for himself and his armie againe the said day apoynnted. That is, he had fewin great cannone out of the Castle of Edinburgh,

¹ This is hardly reconcileable with the fact that Lyon was then engaged on his embassie to Henry.

quhilkis was called the Sewin Sisteris, castin be Robert Borthik ; and thrie master gunneris, furnished with pouder and leid to thame at thair pleasure ; and in the meane tyme they war taking out the artillarie, the king himself being in the Abbey, thair was ane cry heard at the mercatt croce of Edinburgh, about midnight, proclameand, as it had beine ane summondis, quilkis was called be the proclamer thairof, the summondis of Platcok, desiring all earles, lordis, barrones, gentlmen, and fundrie burgeses within the toun, to compeir befoir his maister within fourtie dayes, quhair it sould happen him to be for the tyme, vnder the paine of disobedience ; and so many as war called war designed be thair awin names. But whidder this summondis was proclaimed be vaine persones, night walkeris for thair pastyme, or if it was ane spirit I cannot tell. But on indweller in the toun, called Mr. Richard Lawfoun, being evill dispossed, ganging in his gallrie, start forment the croce, hearing this voyce, thought marvell quhat it shold be ; so he crye^d for his servand to bring him his purs, and tuik ane croun and kest it over the stair, saying “ I for my part appealis from your summondis and judgment, and takis me to the mercie of God.” Werrilie he quho caused me cronicle this was ane sufficient landit gentelman, who was in the toun in the meane tyme, and was then twentie yeires of aige ; and he fwore efter the feild thair was not ane man that was called at that

tyme, that escaped, except that on man, that appailed
from thair judgmentis."

James' wife is said to have added her entreaties to prevent the campaign, but, needless to say, with no effect, and he crossed the Tweed on the 22nd August, with an army¹ "whereof the brute was that they were two hundred thousand, but for a fuertye they were an hundred thousand good fightyng men at the left," and encamped on the banks of the Fill, a little river which flows into the Tweed. Here he seems to have remained until the 24th, during which time he issued a proclamation, dated "Twesil hauch," (Twizell haugh), with a view to encourage his troops, ordaining "gif any man beis flane or hurt to deid in the kings army, and oist be Inglesman, or dies in the army, enduring the tyme of his oist, his aires shall have his ward, relief and marriage, of the king fre, dispendand with his age, quhat eild that ever he be of."

The King then moved on to Norham Castle, where, according to Holinshed, he "ouerthrew the Barnekine, & slue diverse within the castle, so that the Capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the King to delaie the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie alreadie come with an armie into the north parts, covenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they should deliuer

¹ Hall.

the castle vnto the King. This was granted ; and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuere at the appointed day ; a great part of it was ouerthrawne and beaten downe." Moving rapidly along the Tweed, the king took Wark Castle, and turned inland, taking Etal and Ford.¹ Here he wasted precious time, if the old Chroniclers can be trusted, in an extremely unprofitable manner. James was always extremely suscepible to female beauty, and, forgetful of his Wife Margaret, succumbed to the charms of Lady Heron of Ford,² if the Scotch version be true. Still adhering to my plan of giving contemporary history if possible, I quote the following extract from Lindsay :—" Some sayes the ladie Foord being ane bewtifull weman, the King melled with hir, and the bischope of St. Androis³ with hir dochter, quhilke was againes the ordour of

¹ Remains of all these castles still exist.

² "Sir William Heron succeeded his brother John in the year 1498, being then 20 years old. He was high Sheriff of Northumberland in the year 1526, and died 8 July, 1535. He was twice married. By Elizabeth his first wife, he had a son, William, who died before him ; by the second, Agnes, he had no issue."—No mention is anywhere made of a daughter of Lady Elizabeth Heron.

³ A natural son of James, by Margaret, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, born 1495. By a dispensation from the Pope, the King created him Archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1509, and made him his Chancellor 1511. He was also the Pope's Legate a latere.

all guid captanes of warre to begin at whordome and harlottrie, befoir ony guid succes of battell or victorie. But doubtles sick proceedingis is oftymes the occasioune of ane evill succes. Alwayes, the King remained thair the space of twentie dayes, without battell, or no appearance of the same, quhill the most pairt of thair victuallis war spendit, and speciallie the farre northland menis, and the illes menis, that they war forced to goe home to furnisch the same ; and everie lord and barrone fende home of his speciall servandis for new provisioun ; so that thair abod not above ten thousand men with the King, by bordereris and countrie men. Yitt the King tuik no fear, for he beleived that the Inglischmen should not have given him battell at that tyme. But this vicked ladye Fuird, sieing the Kingis hoast so disperst, for laik of victuallis, and knew all the secreitis that war amongst the Kingis men, and the intentioun of the King himselff, and secreit counsall, quhilk knawledge shoule had be hir frequent whordome with the King, quhilk moved hir to ask licence of the King to pas innerward in the countrie, to speak with certane of hir friendis, saying to the King that shoule bring him all newis out of the south countrie, quhat they were doeing, or quhat was thair purpose to doe, and thairfoir shoule desired the King to remane thair till hir return. And he againe, as an effeminat prince, subdewed and intysed be this vicked woman, gave hir haistilie credence in

this matter, and believed all that shoe had said to be trew. So he caused convoy her ane litle space from the hoast as shoe desired. But this ladie Fuird being myndful to keip no credit with the King, for the loue shoe buire to hir native countrie, shoe past haistilie to the earle of Surrey, quhair he was lyand at York at that tyme, and shew to him the haill secreitis of the King, and how many he was, and quhair his armie lay, and quhat poyntt they war att, and how his men war disperst, and past from him for laik of victuallis, and that thair was not abyding with him but ten thousand of all his great armie. Quhairfoir shoe counsalled the earle of Surrey to cum fordwadis vpoun him, assuring him of victorie, by hir ingyne, for shoe should deceave the King; also farre as shoe might, and put him in the Inglismenis handis. Thir novellis being showin to the earle of Surrey, be this vicked woman, he greatlie rejoiced thairat, and thanked her greatumlie for hir laboures and paines, that shoe tuik for hir native countrie promiseaud to hir, that within thrie dayes he should meitt the King of Scotland."





CHAPTER IX.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH.



HETHER there is any foundation for this story or not, we have it on Hall's authority that Lady Elizabeth Heron was the subject of diplomatic negotiation between the Earl of Surrey and King James on 4 September in that year, the Earl then being at Alnwick. "And when all men were appoynted and knewe what too do, The erle and hys counsayll concluded and determined emonge other thynges to fende Rouge crosse, pursiuant of armes with a trumpet to the kynge of Scottes with certayne instruccions, signed by the sayde erle conteynynge woorde by woorde as foloweth.

Fyrst where there hathe bene fuyte made to the Kyng of Scottes by Elizabeth Heron, wyfe to William Heron of Forde, nowe prysoner in Scotlande, for castynge doune of the house or Castell of Forde, and

as the sayde Elizabeth reporteth vpon communicacion had, the sayde kynge hath promyfed and condiscended to the sayde Elizabeth, that if she any tyme before none, the fift daye of September, woulde brynge and deliuer vnto hym the lorde Johnstowne, and Alexander Hume, then prysioners that tyme in Englande, he then is contented and agreed that the sayde house or Castell shall stande without castynge doune, brennyng or spoylyng the same: Whereunto the sayde erle is content with that, vpon thys condicion, that if the sayde kynge wyll promytte the assuraunce of the sayde Castell, in maner and forme aforesayde vnder hys seale, to deliuer the sayde lorde of Johnstowne and Alexander Hume, immediately vpon the same assuraunce. And in case the sayde kynge can and will be content to delyuer the sayde Heron oute of Scotlande, then the sayde erle shall cause to be deliuered to the sayde kynge the two gentelmen, and two other, syr George Hume and William Carre."

James detained Rouge Croix Pursuivant and sent his Herald Ilay on the 6th September to the Earl of Surrey, with the message "as touchynge the sauynge from brennyng or destroiyng, and castynge doune of the Castell of Forde, for the deliueraunce of the sayde prisoners, The kyng hys master woulde thereto make no aunswere."

Whilst James, however, wasted time at Ford, and his army dwindled away, Surrey was far from idle. News

of James's entry into England first reached the Earl on the 25th August. He immediately summoned a general muster at Newcastle on the first of September; and he himself started for York with five hundred men, leaving the next day for Newcastle. At Durham he heard of the fall of Norham, and Hall goes on thus with his narrative:—"thys chaunce was more sorowfull to the erle then to the Bishoppe owner of the same. All that nyghte the wynde blewe corragioufly, wherefore the erle doubted leaſt the lorde Hawarde hys sonne greate Admyrall of Englande shoulde perish that nyght on the ſea, who promifed to land at Newcastell with a thouſand men, to accompanyne hys father, whyche promyſe he accomplished.

The erle harde Maffe, and appoynted with the Prior for Saincte Cutherdes banner,¹ and ſo that daye beynge the thyrty daye of Auguft he came to Newcastell: thither came the lorde Dacres, syr William Bulmer,

¹ Presumably to inflame the courage of his border troops. Lambe, without mentioning his authority, gives the following deſcription of the banner:—"Soon after the battle of Nevil's Croſs, A. 1346, John Toffe, prior of Durham, made a new banner, and confeſcated it to St. Cuthbert. The ſtaff of it was five yards long, covered with pipes, furmounted with a croſs, under which was a rod, as thick as a man's finger, fastened by the middle to the ſtaff. At each end of which was a wrought knob and a little bell. All theſe except the ſtaff were of silver. The banner cloth of red velvet, fastened to the rod, was a yard broad, and one yard and a quarter deep: The bottom of it was indented in five parts; on both fides it was embroidered, and wrought with flowers of green

syf Marmaducke Constable, and many other substanciall gentlemen, whome he reteyned wyth him as counsayllers, and there determined that on Sundaye next ensuyng, he shoulde take the felde at Bolton in Glendale, and because many souldioures were repayrynge to hym he lefte Newcastell to the entent that they that folowed, shoulde haue there more rome, and came to Alnewyke the thyrde day of September, and because hys souldiars were not come, by reason of the foule waye, he was fayne to tarye there all the fourthe daye beyng Sundaye, whyche daye came to hym the lord Admyrall hys sonne with a compaignye of valyaunt Capitaynes and able souldiars and maryners, whiche all came from the sea, the commynge of hym muche reioyced hys father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of greate credence and experience."

silk and gold. In the midst of it was a square half yard of white velvet, whereon was a crois of red velvet, on both fides of the cloth. In it was enclosed that holy relique, the corporax cloth, wherewith St. Cuthbert covered the Chalice, when he said mass. The banner cloth was skirted with a fringe of red silk and gold ; and at the bottom of it hung three silver bells."





CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF FLODDON FIELD.

HAVING traced the course of Scottish history to this point, we may continue it by means of the account of the battle of Flodden Field, two leaves of which were bound up, as already related, in the cover of the same book as the “Ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge ;” and this is all the more appropriate, not only on account of the association of the piece in question, but because it is scarce, was contemporary, and was printed by the same printer. The tract in Mr. Christie Miller’s possession is unique. It was purchased by the Marquess of Blandford, and at the sale known as White Knights’ Library in 1819, was sold for £13 13s. It has, however, been reprinted in its mutilated condition, first in 1809, “under revise of Mr. Haslewood ;” and secondly in 1822, at Newcastle, by Wm. Garrett.

A BALLADE OF THE SCOTYSSHE KYNGE. 63

¶ Hereafter ensue the trewe encountre or . . .
Batayle lately don betwene . Englade and : Scotlande.
In whiche batayle the Scottishe Kynge was slayne.



¶ The maner of thaduaucesyng of my lord of
Surrey tresourier and . Marshall of . Englande and
leuetenute generall of the north pties of the same
with . xxvi . M. men to wardes the kynge of . Scott/
and his . Armye vewed and nombred to an/ hundred
thoufande men at/ the leest.

Firste my sayd Lorde at his beynge at Anewik in Northumbrelande the .iiij. daye of . Septembre the .v. yere of y^e Reygne of kynge Henry the .viii. herynge that y^e kynge of Scottes thenne was remoued from Norhme. And dyd lye at forde . Castel/ & in those ptyes dyd moche hurte in spoylyng robynge/ and brennyng/ sent to the sayde kynge of Scottes Ruge Cros purseaunte at . Armes to shewe vnto hym that for so moche as he the said Kynge contrary to his honour all good reason & confcyence And his oothe of Fidelite for y^e ferme entartnyng of perpetuall peas betwene the kyng/ hygnes our . Souerayne lorde and hym had inuaded this Raalme/ spoylad brente and robbyd dyuers and sondery townes and places in the same. Also had caste and betten downe the Castel of Norhme And crewella had murdered & slayne many of the kynnes liege people he was comen to gyue hym bayta. And defyred hym y^t for/ so moche/ as he was a kynge and a great Prynce he wolde of his lusty & noble courage cosent therunto and tarye y^e same. And for my sayde Lordes partie his lordeshyp promysed ye assured Accomplyshemet and perfourmaunce therof as he was true knyght to god and the kynge his mayster The kynge of scottes herynge this/ message reynued & kept w^t hym y^e sayd Ruge Cros pursenanta & wolde nat suffre hym at y^e tyme to retourne agayne to my sayde lorde.

The .v. daye of Septembre his lordshyp in his approchynge nyghe to the borders of . Scotlande/ mustred at Bolton in glendayll & lodged that nyght therein y^e felde with all his Armye.

¶ The nexte daye beyng the .vi daye of Septembre the kynge of scottes sent to my sayd lor of Surrey a harolde of his called Ilaye and demaunded if that my sayde Lorde wolde iustefye the mesage sent by the sayd purseuaunte ruge cros as is aforesayd sygnefyng that if my lorde wolde so doo/ it was the thynge/ that moost was to his . Ioye end comforde. To this/ demaunde/ my lord made answere afore dyuers lordes/ knyghtes and gentylme nyghe . iij myles from the felde where ys the sayde harolde was apstoyned to tarye bycause he shulde nat vewe the Armye that he coumaunded nat oonly the/ sayde . Ruge cros to speke and shewe the sayde werdes of his mesage: But also gaue and comytted vnto hym the same by . Instruccion sygned/ and subscrybed/ with his owne hande/ whiche my sayde lorde sayd/ he wolde . Iustefye/ and for so moche as his lordshyp conceyued by the/ sayde . Harolde/ how . Joyous and comfortabe his mesage/ was to y^e sayde Kynge of scottes he therfore for the more assuraunce of his wessage shewed that he wolde be boüden in . x.Mli. & good suertes with his . Lordshyp to gyue the sayde kynge batayle by Fridaye/ next after at the/ furtheſt/ If that the sayde kynge of/ scottes wolde/ affyne and

appoynte any/ other Erle or Erles of his/ Realme to be bounden in lyke maner that he wolde abyde my sayde/ lordes commynge And for somoche as the sayd kynge of . Scottes reeyued styll with hym Ruge Cros purseuaute and wolde nat suffre hym to retourne to my lorde my/ sayde lorde in lyke and semblable maner dyd kepe/ with/ hym the scotteshe Harolde . Ilay and fant to the sayd kynge of scottes with his answere and further offer/ as is/ afdre rehersed/ A gentylman of scotlande that accompanied and came to my sayde lorde wiche the sayd Harolde . Ilay/ And thus . Ilay contynued and was kepte close tyll the commynge home of Ruge cros whiche was the next daye after/¹ And thenne/ Ilay was put at large and lyberte to retourne

¹ According to Hall, Rouge Croix had a narrow escape :—
 “ You haue harde before, howe Ilay the Scottishe Heraulde was returned for Rouge Crosse, and as sone as Rouge Crosse was returned he was discharged, but he taryed with Yorke an Englishe Heraulde makyng good chere, and was not returned that mornyng that Rouge Crosse came on hys message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and hys trumpet were detayned by the seruaunte of Ilay, whiche the daye before went for Rouge Crosse, affuryng them that if Ilay came not home before none, that he was not liuinge, and then they shoulde haue their heddes stryken of, then Rouge Crosse offered that hys seruant should go for Ilay, but it would not be excepted, but as hap was Ilay came home before none, and shewed of his gentell enterteynnge, and then Rouge Crosse was deliuered, and came to the Englishe armye, and made reporte as you haue hearde.”

to the kynge of scottes his maystere to shewe my lordes answeres declaracyons and goodly/ offers as he had hade in euery behalue of my sayde lorde.

¶ The same daye my Lorde deuyded his Arme in two betaylles that is to wytte in a vauwarde and a rerewarde and ordeyned my lorde Hawarde Admorall his sone to be . Capitayne of the sayde vaunwarde/ and hymselfe to by chefe Capitayne of the rerewarde.

¶ In the breste of y° sayde vauuwarde was wt the sayde Lord Admorall ix . thousande men and vnder Capitaynes of the sams breste of the batayle was the lord . Lumley: syr Wyllm Bulmer: the baron of Hylton and dyuerse other of the Byshopryche of Duresme: under . Seynt: Cuthbert/ banner the lorde . Scrope of vpsall/ the lorde Ogle/ syr willyam Gafcoygne/ fer Cristofer warde/ syr John Gueringhm sir walter Griffith/ syr John Gower: and dyuers othes Esquyres and gentylmen of yorkehshire and Northumberlaed/ And in ayther wynge of the same batayle was iii M . men.

¶ The Capitayne of the right wynge was mayster Edmonde hawarde sone to my seyde lorde of Surrey/ And with hym was syr Thomas Butler/ syr . John Boothe syr Richarde Boolde/ and dyuerse other Esquyers/ & gentylmen of Lancashyre end Chas-
shyre.

¶ The Capitayne of the laste wynge was olda syr Marmaduke. Costeble & with hym was mayster

wyllim Percy his sona . Elawe willm Constable his
broder/ syr. Robert Constabla mamaduke Constable
willm Constable his sones/ And syr John Costable of
holdernes with dyuerse his kynnesmen Allies and
othea Gentylmen of yorkeshyre and Northumberlande.

¶ In the brefte of batayle of the fayde rerewarde
was . vM. mon with my falde lorde of . Surrey/ and
vnder. Capitaydes of the same was the lord Scrope of
Bolton syr Philype Tyney broder Elawe to my sayd
lord of. Sur.rey George darcy sone and heyre to the
lorde Darcy,¹ Sir Philipe Tylney broder in law to my
said Lorde of Surrey, Sir John Rocliff, Sir Thomas
Methine, Sir William Scargill, Sir John Normavell,
Sir Rauff Ellircar, Sir Ric. Abdeburghe, and dyuers
oder Esquyers gentillmen and comyns of Yorkshir.
And in ather wynges of the said rerewarde was. iiij.
thousande men.

¶ The Capitaine of the right wynges, was the lord
Dacre of the Northe and with hym. xv. C. of the
Busshop of Eleis men, sent frome out of Lankashir,

¹ Here begins the missing portion found in the book-cover, which is taken from a MS. in the possession of the late David Laing, Esq., LL.D. V.P.S.A. Scot., read by him before the Society, March, 1867, the accuracy of which, compared with the printed text he guarantees. Dr. Laing, with respect to the reproduction of the text, gives the following explanatory notice: "It is now printed with no other alterations, than correcting the punctuation, rejecting ordinary contractions in MSS. or printed books of that age, and using capital letters for proper names."

And the capitaine of the left wyng of the said rere-warde, was Sir Edwarde Stanley accompanied hooly with dyuers knyghtts and gentilmen of Lancashire.

¶ My lorde of Surrey beyng thus ordered and accompenyed as is aforesaid removed upon. vi. myles to a ffelde callid Woller Haghe withynne. iij. myles of the king of Scottes, wher as euery man myght se, how the said King of Scottes did lye with his Army vpon an high hill in the egge of Cheviotte, withynne .ij. myles of Scotlande, wherunto he had remoued from Forde Castell, ovir the watir of Till, and was encloosed in thre parties, with three great mountaynes, soe that ther was noe passage nor entre vnto hym but oon waye, wher was laied marvelous and great ordeneance of gounes, that is to wit. v. great curtalles. ij. great colveryns. iiiij. Sacres and. vi. great Serpentynes as goodly gounes as haue bene sene in any realme. And beside theme, wher othir dyuers small ordenances, and the same day at night my Lorde and all the army did lye upon the said grounde callid Woller Haghe.

¶ And conceiving the said King of Scottes to lye soe stronglye as is aforesaid, and that ther was a fair plaine at the nethir parte of the said mountaines callid Mylnfelde, my said Lorde of Surrey tarryed vpon the same grounde. all the next daye. the. viij. day of Septembris and the nyght after trustyng that the King wolde haue remoued dounwade to the said grounde to

have gyven hym battell. And seyng that the said King of Scottes contynued still in the same mountaine without remouyng in any wise and all his ooste with hym, my said Lorde doutyng of the said Kings aboid and tarryng, because it was suspect he wolde haue fled away in the night, insomyche that he was withynne. ij. myles of his ounre realme sent unto hym Ruge Cros purfivannte at harmes. And eftsoones requyred hym to come doun to the said plaine of Mylfeilde. wher was convenient grounde for the metynge of twoe Armys, or to a grounde bye callid Floddon or to any othir indifferent grounde for twoe batells to feght vpon.

¶ At this tyme the King waxed angry and displeased towarde my said Lorde, and wold not spek with Ruge Cros purfivaunte but had reporte of his message, by a gentillman which made relacion ayeine of the same to Ruge Cros on this maner with like termes. The King my maister wills that ye shall shewe to Therle of Surrey, that it besemeth hym not being an Erle, so largely to attempte a great prince, his grace woll take & kepe his grounde and felde at his ounre pleafour, and not at the assyning of Therle of Surrey, whoom the King my maister supposeth to deall with some wichecrafte or sawcery because he procureth to feight vpon oon the said grounde. The said Ruge Cros having this answere, retorneled ayeine to my Lorde and shewed his lordship the same.

¶ My said Lorde of Surrey conceivyng that the King of Scottes did contynually rest and remaine in the said foretres invironde with the said mountain and that he wolde not in any wise remove frome the same to any othir indifferent grounde to abide or gyve batell, removed his ffelde the. viij. day of Septembre being our Ladies day the Natiuitie, and passed ovir the water of Till, and contynually all that day went with the said hoole Army in aray, in the sight of the said King of Scottes, at the furthest frome hym withynne two myles, and that night loged vnder a wod side callid Barmor Wode directly ayeinste the King aforesaid, and his army Albeit there was an hill betwene the hooftes for avoiding the daunger of gouné shoote, and notwithstanding. iiiij. or. v. daies passed ther was litle or noe wyne, ale, nor bere, for the people to be refresched with but that all the hool army for the mooste parte wer enforced and confstreynd of necessite to drynke water duryng the same tyme and seafon without conforte or trufe of any relief in that behalue. My said Lorde of Surrey, and the said army, the said daunger and wantyng of drynke notwithstanding, coragiously avaunced forewarde to get betwene the said King of Scotts and his realme of Scotlande countenansyng to goo towarde Scotlande or Barwike. The said King conceiving this and as it is confessed fered that my said Lorde and the Army of Englannde wolde haue gon in to Scotlande, did cause

his tents to be taken vp and kepyng the height of the mountaine, removed with his great power and pufiance of people out of the said great forteres towards Scotland. And furthwith the Scottes by thair crafty and subtil emaginacion did sett on fire all such thair fylthy strawe and litter wher as they did ly and with the same made such a great and a meruelous smoke that the maner of thair araye therby couth not be espyed. Immediatly, my Lorde Hawarde with the vawarde, and my Lord of Surrey with the rerewardes in thair mooste qwyke and spedye maner avaunced and made towards the said King of Scotts as faste as to thaim was possible in aray, and what for the hilles and smoke long as it was or the aray of the Scotts couth be conceived, and at the laste, they appeired in .iiij. great batells.

¶ And as foone as the Scottes perceived my said Lordes to be withyn the daunger of thair ordenance they shote sharply thair gounes which wer verray great, and in like maner our partie reconterde them, with thair ordenance, and notwithstanding that othir our artillary for warre couth doe no good nor advantage to our army because they wer contynually goyng and advansyng vp towards the said hilles and mountaines, yit by the help of God our gounes did soe breke and confstreyne the Scottishe great army that some parte of thaim wer enforced to come doun the said hilles towards our army. And my Lorde Hawarde conceiving

the great power of the Scottes sent to my said (Lorde) of Surrey his fader and required hym to advaunce his rerewarde and to joine his right wyng with his left wyng for the Scottes wer of that might that the vawarde was not of power nor abull to encounter thaim. My said lorde of Surrey perfityle vnderstanding this with all spede and diligence, lustely, came forwarde and joyned hym to the vawarde as afor was required by my said Lord Hawarde, and was glad for necessite to make of two battalles oon good battell to aventure of the said . iiiij . batelles.

¶ And for so myche as the Scottes did kepe thaim feuerall in . iiiij . batelles therfor my Lorde of Surry and my Lorde Hawarde sodenly wer confreyned and enforced to devide thair army in oder . iiiij . batelles and els it was thought it shulde haue bene to thair great daunger and jeopardy.

¶ Soe it was that the Lorde Chamberlaine of Scotalande¹ sayde beynge Capitayne of the firste batayle of the Scotths fyery dyd sette vpon maister Edmonde Hawarde . Capitayne of the vttermoste parte of the felde at the west syde. And betwene them was so cruell batayle that many of our partie . Chesshyre men and other dyd flee/ And the sayd mayster Edmonde in maner lefte alone without socoure and his standerde and berer of the same beten and hewed in peces and hymself . thryse ftryken downe to the groud. Howbeit

¹ Here the missing part ends.

lyke a couragous & an hardy yonge lusty gentylman
he recouered agayne and faught hande to hade with
one sir Dauy home & slewe hym with his owne
handes. And thus the sayde mayster Edmonde . was
in . great perell and daunger tyll that the lorde Dacre
lyke a good and an hardy knyght releued and came
vnto hym for his socoure.

¶ The seconde Batayle came vpon my lorde .
Hawarde. The thirde batayle wherin was the kynge
of . Scottes & moste parte of the noble men of his .
Reame came fyerly vpon my sayd lord of . Surrey/
whiche two bataylles by the help of elmyghty god
were after a greht confydelyete venquysshed ouer
comen betten downe & pvt to flyght and fewe of them
escaped. with their lyues syr. Edwarde Stanley beyng
at the vttermoste parte of the sayd rerewardre one heste¹
partie seynge the fourth batayle redy to releue the sayde
kynge of scottes batayle/ couragously: and lyke a
lusty and an hardy knyght dyd sette vpon the same
and ouercame & put to flyght all the scottes in the
sayd batayle. And thus by the grace socour and helpe
of almyghty god victory was gyven to the Reame of .
England. And all the scottyshe ordendnce wonne &
brought to Ettell and Barwyke in . Suretie.

¶ Hereafter ensueth the names of sondry noble
men of the scottes slayne at the sayde batayle & felde
called Brainston moore./

¹ The east.

Firste y ^e kyng of scotoes	Mac . Cleen.
The Archelyfshop of	Iohn of Graunte
seynt . Androwes.	The Maist of . Agwis
The byfshop of . Thyles.	Lorde . Roos.
The byfshop of Ketnes.	Lord tempyll.
The Abbot ynchaffrey.	Lorde . Borthyke.
The Abbot of Rylwenny.	Lorde . Afskyll.
Therle of . Mountroos.	Lorde . Dawiffie.
Therle of . Craforde.	Sir Alexander Scotlon
Therle of . Argyle.	Sire Iohn home.
Therle of lennox.	Therlo . Arell . Constable.
Therle of . Lencar.	Lorde . Lowett.
Therle of . Castelles.	Lorde . Forboos.
Therle of Boothwell	Lorde . Coluin.
Lorde . Elweston.	Sir . Dauy home.
Lorde . Inderby	Cuthbert home of Faf-
Lorde . Maxwell.	castell.
Mac Keyn.	

Over & aboue the seyd pfones there at flayne of the Scottes vewd by my lorde . Dacre the/ noumbrē of . xi . or . xii . thoufande mend And of Englyfshme flayne and taken prysoneris vpon= xii.C. dyuers prysoneris are taken of y^e scottes But noo Notable perfon saue oonly fyr/ wyllm Scotte knyght Councillour of the sayde kynge of scottes and as is sayd a gentylma well lerned Also S^r John Forma knyght broder to the Byfshop of Murrey which byfshop as is reported was &/ is moost pryncyall procurour of this warre/

And one other called fr John Colehome many other scottyshe prysoner . coude & myght haue been taken/ but they were soo vengeable & cruell in theyr fyghtngy that/ whenne Englyfshmen had the better of them they wolde nat saue them/ though it so were that dyuerse scottes offered great sumes of money for theyr lyues.

¶ It is to be noted that the felde beganne betwene . iiiij and . v. at after Noone and contynued within nyght if it had fortuned to haue ben further afore nyght many mo scottes had ben slayne and taken prysoners louynge beto almyghty god all the noble men of Englande tha were vpon the same felde bothe lordes and Knygthes are safe from any hurte/ And none of theym awantynge saue oonly maister Harrgy Gray syr Huinfeide lyle bothe prysoners in Scotlade syr John . Gower of yorkeshyre and syr John Boothe of Lancashyre both wantynge and as yet nat founden.

¶ In this batayle the scottes hadde many great Auauntagies/ that is to wytte the hyghe . Hylles and mountaynes a great wynde with them and sodayne rayne all contrary to oug bowes and Archers.

¶ It is nat to be doubted but the scottes fought manly and were determinyd outhir to wynne y^e Feld or to dye They were also as well apoynted as was possyble at al poyntes with Armoure & harneys so that fewe of them were slayne with arrowes Howbeit the bylles did bete and hewe them downe woth some Payne and daunger to Englyfshemen.

The sayd scottes were so playnely determinyd to abyde batayle and nat to flee that they put from them theyr horses and also put of theyr botes and shooes and faught in the vambris¹ of theyr hoooses every man for the moost ptie/ with a kene and a shape spere of . v. yerdes longe and a target aforh hym And when theyr speres fayled and were spent/ then they faught with great end sharpe fwerdes makyng/ lytell or no noys/ vithoue that; that for the ptie many of them wolde defyre to be sauied.

¶ The felde where y^e scottes dyd/ lodge was nat to be reproynd but rather to be romended greatly for there many and great nombre of goodiyl tenttes and moche good stuffe in the same & in the sayd felde was plentie of wyne bere ale beif multon salfyfishe chese and other vytalles necessary and conuenyent for suche a great Army Albeit our Army doutynge that the sayd vytalles hadde ben poysoned for theyr distruccion wolde not saue but vtterly distroyed theym.

¶ Hereafter ensueth the names of such noble men as after the Felde were made knyght/ for theyr valyance Act/ in the same by my sayd lorde therle of Surrey.

¶ Firste my lorde Scrope of wpsall	Sir Edmonde Hawarde Sir . Guy . Oawney
Sir willm _i Percy	Sir , Raffe falwayne

¹ See ballad " Of the out yles ye rough foted scottes."

Sir . Richarde . Malleuerey	Sir / Briane stapleton of
Sir george Darcy	wyghall.
Sir . w. gascoyne y ^e yoger	Sir . willm . Constable of
Sir . willm. Medlton	Hatefelde
Sir willm . Maleuerdy	Sir . willm . Constable of
Sir Thomas . Bartley	Larethorpe
Sir marmaduke . Costable	Sir Xpofer . Oanby
Sir xpofer . Dacre(y ^e yoger	Sir . Thomas Burght
Sir . Hohn . Hoothome.	Sir . willm . Rous
Sir . Nicholas . Appleyarde.	Sir . Thomas . Newton
Sire Edwarde . Goorge	Sir . Roger of Fenwyke
Sir . Rauf . Ellercar y ^e yoges	Sir . Roger Gray
Sir . John wyliyby	Sir . Thomas Connyers
Sir . Edwarde . Echinghme	My lorde Ogle
Sir . Edwarde . Musgraue	Sir . Thomas strngewase
Sir . John stanley	Sir . Henri . Thwaittes
Sir . walter stonner	My lorde lumley
Sir . Nyniane martynfelde.	Sir . Xpofe . Pekerynge.
Sir Raffe . Bowes	Sir . John Bulmer

¶ Emprynted by me. Richarde . Faques dwllyng In
poulys churche yerde."

In this interesting and graphic description of the battle of Branxton Moor, or Flodden Field, it is worthy of notice that there is no account of the death of King James. It simply records the fact that the King and his son were slain; and, as no mention is

made of his body being found, it is probable the poem was written on the spot before the discovery.

All accounts agree as to the personal bravery of the King; although the superstition of the times, as noted by Holinshed, told upon him. “There chanced also manie things taken (as yee would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in councell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which haueing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hir, with great noise and showting, yet she escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mise had gnawne in funder the buckle and leather of his helmet wherewith he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreouer, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof hed beene of a bloudie colour.”

King James, fancying that the English were giving way, dismounted from his horse, and, in spite of remonstrances from his friends, charged the enemy, who were, however, reinforced by Edward Stanley and his division, and the Scots were thoroughly

routed; the King, and all with him, being slain. Hall speaks most highly of the King's prowes in the following panegyric : " O what a noble and triumphant courage was thys for a kyng to fyghte in a battayll as a meane souldier : But what auayled hys stonge harnes, the puyssance of hys myghtye champions wyth whome he descended the hyll, in whome he too much trusted that with hys stonge people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue vanquished that day the greatest prynce of the world, if he had ben there as the erle of Surrey was, or else he thought to do such an hygh enterprice hym selfe in hys person, that should surmount the enterprises of all other princes : but how soeuer it happened God gaue the stroke and he was no more regarded then a poore souldier, for all went one way. So that of his awne bataill none escaped but syr William Scot knight his chauncelour, and syr Jhon forman knight, his seriaunt Porter, whiche were taken prisoners, and w^t great difficultie saued."

The body of the King having been stripped by marauders, was not found until the following day :—

" Well knownen it was by them that fought, and also reported by the pryoners of Scotlande, that theyr kynge was taken or slayne, but hys body was not founde tyll the next daye, because all the meane people as well Scottes as Englyshe were strypped oute

of theyr apparell as they laye on the felde, yet at the lafte he was founde by the Lord Dacres, who knew hym well by hys pruye tookens in that fame place where the battayle of the Earle of Surrey and hys, firste ioyned together.

Thys kynge had dyuerse deadely woundes and in especiall one with an Arowe, and an another wyth a byll as apered when he was naked. After that the bodye of the kynge of Scottes was found and brought to Barwycke, the Earle shewed yt too Syr Wylyam Scott hys Chaunceller and Syr Jhon Forman hys seriane porter, whiche knewe hym at the fyrsyte fighte and made greate lamentacyon. Then was the bodye bowelled, embawmed, and cered, and secretly amongst other stiffe conueyed to Newcastell.

* * * * * After thys noble vyctorye therle wrote fyrsyte to the Quene whiche had rayfed a greate power to resiste the sayde Kynge of Scottes, of the wynnynge of the battayle, for then the bodye of the kynge of Scottes was not fownde, and she yet beyng at the towne of Buckyngham had woorde the next daye after that the kynge of Scottes was flaine, and a parte of hys coate armure to her fente,¹ for whiche victorye she thanked GOD, and so the Earle after that the Northe parte was sett in a quietnes, returned to the

¹ His gauntlet. His sword and dagger are among the most precious relics preserved in the Heralds' College.

Queene with the deade body of the Scottyshe Kyng
and broughte it to Richemond."

From Richmond the royal remains were taken to the adjoining monastery of Sheen, in accordance with the testimony of Stowe, who says:—"After the battle, the bodie of the same King being found, was closed in lead, and conveyed from thence to London, and to the monasterie of Sheyne in Surry, where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certaine; but since the dissolution of that house, in the reygne of Edward the Sixt, Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolke, being lodged, and keeping house there, I have been shewed the same bodie so lapped in lead, close to the head and bodie, throwne into a waste room amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble. Since the which time, workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feelinge a sweet favour to come from thence, and seeing this same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the haire of the head and beard red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where, for a time, he kept it for its sweetnes, but in the end caused the sexton of that church (St. Michael's, Wood Street) to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnell."

Many of the Scots refused to believe their King to be dead. Lindsay, referring to the English searching

for the King's body after the battle, writes thus :—
“ Bot they could not find him, albeit they fond sondry in his luferay ; for the same day of the feild he caused ten to be in his awin luferay lyk vnto his awin present apperell, amonges quhom was tuo of his awin guard : the on called Alexander M'Cullo, and the vther the squyer of Cleisch, who war both verrie lyk in makdome to the King ; and so they tuik on of thame, whom they thought lykest to the Kyng, and keft him in ane chariott, and had him with thame into England ; but trew it is they gott not the King, becaus they had nevir the tokin of his yron belt to schow to no Scottis man.”

And in another place the same writer declares :—
“ But ten yeires thairefter ane certane man being convict of his lyff for slauchter, offered to the duik of Albanie to latt him sie the place quhair the King was buried, and for the greater evidence, his yron belt besyd him in the grave. Bot this man gott no audience be thame that was about him, and the duik of Albanie desired not that sick things should be knawin.”

Such was the sad fate of “ the scottyshe kynge ” whose character Holinshed sums up in the following terms :—“ This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iuft stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe witte, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie

to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed in the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillinglie drawen vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whylest he laboured to auoid the note of covetousnesse (obiected to his father) and sought to win the favour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would have lost the favour of his people (wonne in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherfore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him."

To the above accounts of James and the Battle of Floddon, few notes need be added. Two or three, however, may render the sence of the ballad clearer in some places.

"A kynge a somner it is wonder."—Skelton, in his

disgust at James's letter to Henry, could not speak strongly enough, so he used an epithet to him which, as an ecclesiastic, was perhaps the most spiteful he could employ. A somner, or apparitor, was accounted an exceedingly mean office. Chaucer, in "the Frere's prologue," says :—

"A sompnour is a renner vp and doun
With mandements afor fornicatioun
And is ybete at every tounes ende."

And in "the Freres tale" he enlarges, in a still more unsavoury manner on the office of Somner.

"thre skippes of a pye," or three hops of a magpie, is a term used to denote the small value of James's expostulations—see also "your counseyle was not worth a flye."

"Ye had bet better to haue busked to huntey bakes."—Huntly bank was the place where Thomas of Erceldoune met the Fairy Queen, and is on one of the Eldoun Hills—but Skelton seems to have used it at random, and only for the sake of the rhyme; thus in his verses against Dundas, "Dundas dronken and drowsy, skabed, scuruy, and lowfy," he says :—

"Dundas
That dronke asse,
That rates and rantis,
That prates and prankes
On Huntley bankes."

Again, in “Why come ye not to Courte”:

“They play their olde pranckes,
After Huntley bankes:”

and in “Howe the douty Duke of Albany,” &c.,

“And for to wright
In the dispygght
Of the Scottes ranke
Of Huntley banke.”

“That noble erle the whyte Lyon,” was Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, son of the first Duke of Norfolk, slain at Bosworth. He himself was there taken prisoner, attainted, and lost the earldom—as his father had lost his dukedom—from the fact of his rebellion. After three years’ imprisonment in the Tower his earldom was restored, as was also his dukedom after Floddon, when an augmentation of arms was granted to him, bearing on the bend of his own arms a demi-lion of Scotland, pierced through the mouth with an arrow.

His son, “the lorde admirall,” was at the same time created Earl of Surrey.

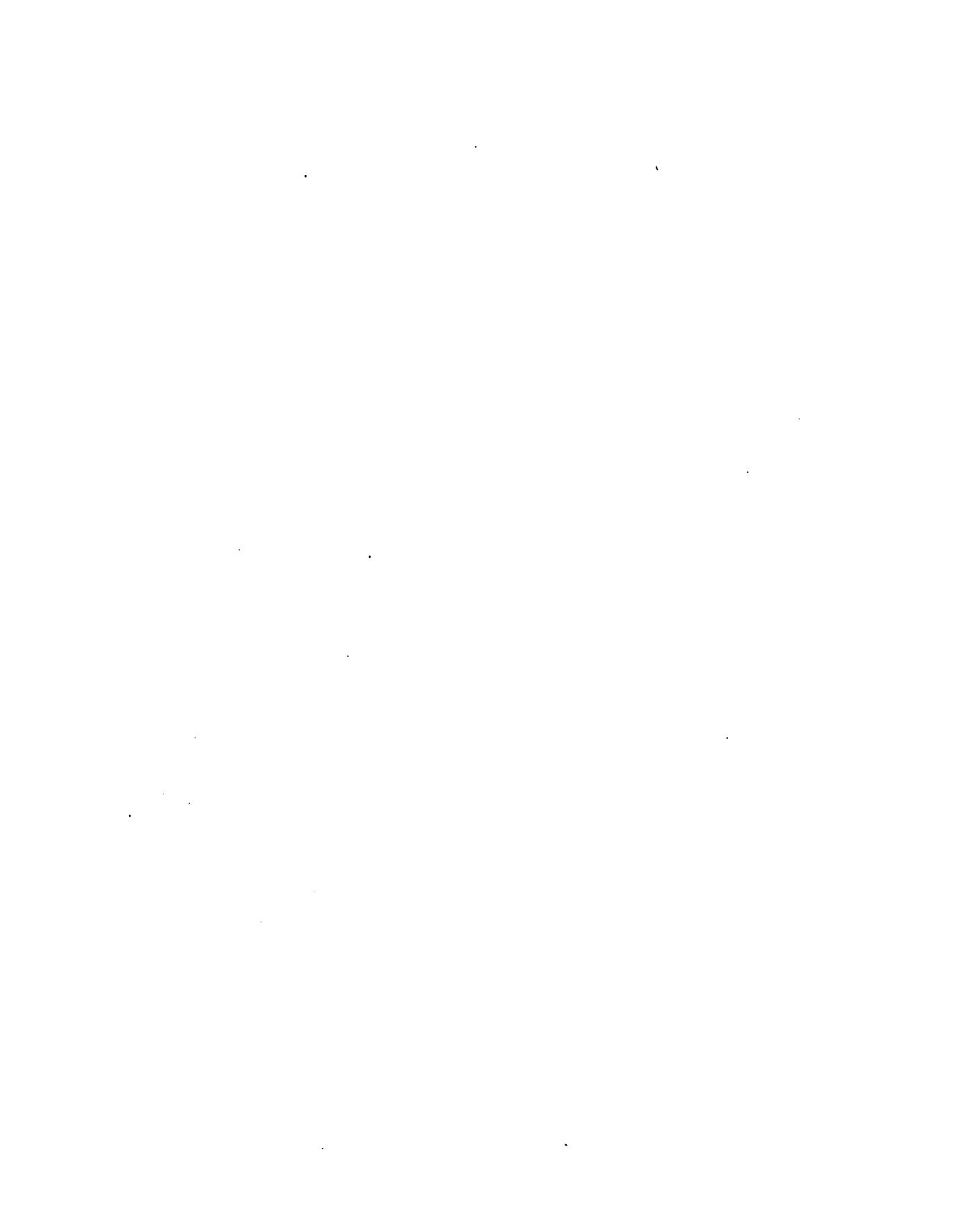
The white lion was the badge of the house of Howard, and Holinshed explains this in the following way:—“Upon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Haward earle of Surrie (as a note of the Conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognisance (to weare on their

left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before beare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing over a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes."

1



A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.



A ballade of the scotysshē kyngē.



B
yngē lamp/lomp pour. Joye is all go
Ye commoed our kyngē whyp dyde pessō
To you no thyng it dyde accorde
To common our kyngē pour souerayne lordē.

A kyng a somner it is wonder
 Knowe ye not salte and suger asonder
 In your somynge ye were to malaperte
 And your harolde no thynge experte
 ye thought ye dyde it full valgauntolpe
 But not worth thre skypes of a ppe.
 Syr squyer galgarde ye were to swyste.
 your wyl renne before your boyste.
 To be so scornefull to your alye/
 your counseyle was not worth a fye.
 Before the frenshe kyng/danes/ and other
 ye ought to honour your lorde and brother
 Crowe ye syr. James his noble grace,
 For you and your scottes wolde tourne his face
 Now ye prode scottes of gelawaye.
 For your kyng may syng belawaye
 Now muste kno we our kyng for your regent/
 your sauerynne lorde and presedent/
 In hym is figured melchisedeche/
 And ye be delolate as armeleche
 He is our noble chayppon.
 A kyng anoynted and ye be non
 Thugh your counseyle your lader was slayne
 therfore I lese ye wyl suffre payne/
 And ye proude scottes of dunbar
 Parde ye be his homager.
 And sulers to his parlyment/
 ye dyde not your debuty therin.
 therfore ye may it now repent
 ye bere yowrselfe somwhat to bolde/
 Therfore ye haue lost your copholde.

ye be bounde tenauntes to his estate.
 Gyue vp your game ye playe chekmate.
 For to the castell of norham
 I vnderstonde to loone ye cam.
 For a prysoner there now ye be
 Byther to the devyll or the trinite.
 Thanked be saynte George our ladyes knyrthe
 your pryde is paste adwe good nyght.
 ye haue determined to make a fraye
 Our kyngē than beyngē out of the wape
 But by the power and myght of god
 ye were beten with your owne rod
 By your wanton wyll spr at a worde
 ye haue losse spores/cote armure/and sworde
 ye had bet better to haue busked to huntey bakes/
 Chan in Englondē to playe ony liche prances
 But ye had some wyle sede to lowe.
 Therfore ye be layde now full lowe/
 your power coude no lenger attayne
 warre with our kyngē to meyntayne.
 O the kyngē of nauerne ye may take hede/
 Nowt vnsortunatly he doth now spedē/
 In double welles now he dooth dreame.
 That is a kyngē witou a realme
 At hym examplye ye wolde none take.
 Experiance hath brought you in the same brake
 O the out yles ye rough foted scottes/
 we haue well easid you of the botte s
 ye rowe ranke scottes and droken danes
 Of our englysshē bowes ye haue lete your banes.
 It is not sytynge in our towne/

